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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

FRANKLIN P. RICE,
GEORGE H. HAYNES,

CHARLES L. NICHOLS,
JULIUS H. TUTTLE.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

NEW SERIES, VOL. XXI.

APRIL 12, 1911—OCTOBER 18, 1911.



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CONTENTS.

NOTE OF COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.....	vii
OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.....	ix-xxvi

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 12, 1911.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING.....	1
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.....	6
OBITUARIES.....	10
SOME NEW JERSEY PRINTERS AND PRINTING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	15
THE SHAYS REBELLION	57
THE VALUE OF ANCIENT MEXICAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE STUDY OF THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF WRITING	80
THE HULL-EATON CORRESPONDENCE.....	103

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 18, 1911.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING.....	131
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.....	138
OBITUARIES.....	146
REPORT OF THE TREASURER.....	155
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.....	161
LIST OF DONORS.....	177
THE PLACE OF NEW ENGLAND IN THE HISTORY OF WITCHCRAFT	185
THE RUINS AT TIAHUANACO, BOLIVIA,	218
SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESIDERATA IN AMERICAN HISTORY	266
A KINDLER LIGHT ON EARLY SPANISH RULE IN AMERICA	277
ASIA AND AMERICA	284
INDEX.....	339

LIST OF PLATES.

NEW LIBRARY BUILDING.....	1
INTERIOR VIEW OF NEW BUILDING.....	6
HUMBOLDT MANUSCRIPTS, PLATE I.....	84
MENDOZA CODEX, PLATES II-V.....	86
PAGE FROM VELADES, PLATE VI.....	88
PAGE FROM PEABODY MUSEUM MS., PLATE VII.....	88
LETTER OF WILLIAM EATON, 1807.....	119
FLOOR PLAN OF NEW BUILDING.....	162

NOTE.

The twenty-first volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings from April 12 to October 18, 1911.

The reports of the Council have been presented by Samuel Swett Green and Andrew McF. Davis.

Papers have been received from William Nelson, Andrew McF. Davis, Alfred M. Tozzer, George L. Burr, Adolph F. Bandelier, William MacDonald, and Edward H. Thompson.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Morton Dexter, James Frothingham Hunnewell, Leonard Parker Kinnicutt, Francis Cabot Lowell, Alexander Hamilton Vinton, Carroll Davidson Wright and Charles Augustus Chase.

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XVI

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October, 1896.

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April, 1905.

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October, 1910.

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EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
CHARLES EVANS,	Chicago, Ill.
WILLIAM CURTIS FARABEE, Ph.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
MAX FARRAND, Ph.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
MERRITT LYNDON FERNALD, B.S.,	Cambridge, Mass.
CARL RUSSELL FISH, Ph.D.,	Madison, Wis.
WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
ALCÉE FORTIER, Litt.D.,	New Orleans, La.
†WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, Litt.D.,	Providence, R. I.
GEORGE EBENEZER FRANCIS, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
HOMER GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
REV. AUSTIN SAMUEL GARVER, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
†FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, A.B.,	Brookline, Mass.
EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B.,	Ware, Mass.

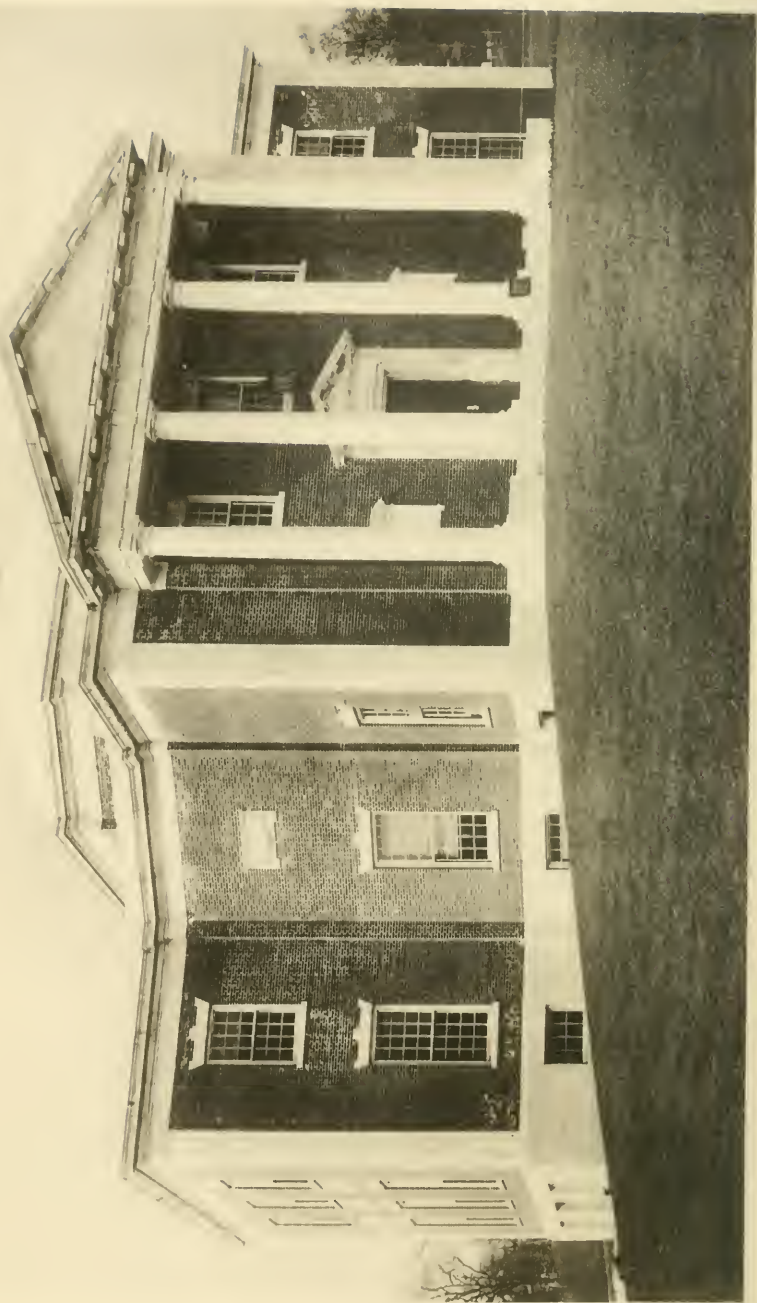
JOHN GREEN, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
†SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
†SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, A.B., . .	Brookline, Mass.
EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, LL.D., .	Amherst, Mass.
LEWIS WINTERS GUNCKEL, Ph.B., . . .	Dayton, O.
REV. EDWARD HENRY HALL, D.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., . .	Worcester, Mass.
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WILLIAM HARDEN,	Savannah, Ga.
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†GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, Ph.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
DON GLEASON HILL, LL.B.,	Dedham, Mass.
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE,	Washington, D. C.
†SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES,	Washington, D. C.
ALBERT HARRISON HOYT, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, Ph.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
GAILLARD HUNT,	Washington, D. C.
ARCHER MILTON HUNTINGTON, A.M., . .	New York, N. Y.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
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EDWARD FRANCIS JOHNSON, LL.B., . . .	Woburn, Mass.
HENRY PHELPS JOHNSTON, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
†LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT,	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LYMAN KITREDGE, LL.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
REV. SHEPHERD KNAPP, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
ALFRED L. KROEBER, Ph.D.,	San Francisco, Cal.
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.
JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ, Ph.D.,	Lexington, Va.
†RT.-REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.C.L., .	Boston, Mass.
FRANCIS HENRY LEE,	Salem, Mass.
†WALDO LINCOLN, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE,	Boston, Mass.
†HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D.,	Nahant, Mass.

† Life members.

ARTHUR LORD, A.B.,	Plymouth, Mass.
†JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D.,	Paris, France.
REV. WILLIAM DELOSS LOVE, PH.D.,	Hartford, Conn.
†ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM DENISON LYMAN, A.M.,	Walla Walla, Wash.
SAMUEL WALKER MCCALL, LL.D.,	Winchester, Mass.
WILLIAM MACDONALD, LL.D.,	Providence, R. I.
ANDREW CUNNINGHAM MCLAUGHLIN, LL.B.,	Chicago, Ill.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, D.C.L.,	Easton, Pa.
HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH,	Worcester, Mass.
ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.
EDWIN DOAK MEAD,	Boston, Mass.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D.,	Ravenna, Ohio.
JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B.,	Framingham, Mass.
†REV. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D.,	Boston, Mass.
†ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, PH.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, A.B.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ANSON DANIEL MORSE, LL.D.,	Amherst, Mass.
EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE, PH.D.,	Salem, Mass.
WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO, L.H.D.,	Providence, R. I.
WILLIAM NELSON, A.M.,	Paterson, N. J.
†CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
FREDERICK ALBION OBER,	Hackensack, N. J.
HERBERT LEVI OSGOOD, PH.D.,	New York, N. Y.
THOMAS MCADORY OWEN, LL.D.,	Montgomery, Ala.
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,	New York, N. Y.
STEPHEN DENISON PEET, PH.D.,	Salem, Mass.
FREDERIC WARD PUTNAM, Sc.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
HERBERT PUTNAM, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
†JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
†FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE,	Worcester, Mass.
ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
†ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
†ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL,	Tilton, N. H.
MARSHALL HOWARD SAVILLE,	New York, N. Y.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL.D.,	Intervale, N. H.

ALBERT SHAW, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, LL.D., .	Princeton, N. J.
CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH, LL.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
EZRA SCOLLAY STEARNS, A.M., . . .	Fitchburg, Mass.
†REV. CALVIN STEBBINS, A.B., . . .	Framingham, Mass.
EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, PH.D., .	New York, N. Y.
HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
ALLEN CLAPP THOMAS, A.M.,	Haverford, Pa.
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D., . .	Madison, Wis.
ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, PH.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE,	Dedham, Mass.
DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, A.M., . .	Boston, Mass.
†SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
REV. CHARLES STUART VEDDER, LL.D.,	Charleston, S. C.
REV. WILLISTON WALKER, LITT.D., .	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B., .	Worcester, Mass.
REV. THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS, A.M.,	Ipswich, Mass.
†WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., .	Providence, R. I.
BARRETT WENDELL, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.
ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, D.C.L., . .	Ithaca, N. Y.
ALBERT HENRY WHITIN,	Whitinsville, Mass.
†GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, A.M., . .	Providence, R. I.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP,	Boston, Mass.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, M.D., .	Worcester, Mass.

† Life members.



NEW LIBRARY BUILDING.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 12, 1911, IN ELLIS HALL AT
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BUILDING, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 A. M. by
the President, Mr. WALDO LINCOLN.

The following members were present:

Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis,
Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Edmund M. Barton,
Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes,
Andrew McF. Davis, Frederic W. Putnam, Daniel
Merriman, William B. Weeden, Joseph Anderson,
Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, George E. Francis,
A. George Bullock, William E. Foster, Charles P. Green-
ough, Calvin Stebbins, Henry A. Marsh, William DeL.
Love, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Charles
L. Nichols, William R. Livermore, Waldo Lincoln,
A. Lawrence Rotch, Samuel Utley, Henry F. Jenks,
George L. Kittredge, Albert Matthews, William Mac-
Donald, D. Berkeley Updike, Clarence S. Brigham,
Franklin P. Rice, Worthington C. Ford, Henry E. Woods,
William C. Lane, Julius H. Tuttle, Charles G. Washburn,
Max Farrand, Marshall H. Saville, Alfred M. Tozzer,
Wilfred H. Munro, William Nelson, Justin H. Smith,
Henry W. Cunningham, Merritt L. Fernald, Albert
H. Whitin, Albert C. Bates, Homer Gage, Henry A.
Parker.

The President stated that because of the absence of
the Recording Secretary, it would be necessary to elect

a Secretary *pro tempore*, and upon motion, Mr. C. S. Brigham was elected to that office.

The reading of the records of the last meeting was, on motion, dispensed with, the printed report of the proceedings having been already distributed among the members of the Society.

The Report of the Council was read by Mr. Samuel Swett Green.

The President, in supplementing the report of the Council, spoke as follows:

“I would like to say a word congratulating the Society on the completion of its new building. The library, while far from being in perfect order, a matter which will take many months, is sufficiently well arranged to permit its being readily consulted, and it is hoped that the members will visit it as early and as often as they can.

“I am sorry to report that since last October there has been no material addition to the centennial fund. I hope that all the members will feel responsible for this attempt to secure an increase of endowment without which the Society will be very much handicapped; for, although it can live in a rather quiet way, it cannot do the work it ought to do, the work that it was formed to do, and which I am sure the members are all interested in having done. If any member can aid the committee in obtaining this increased endowment I trust he will do so.

“In this connection a few selections from early addresses to the Society seem pertinent. The first is from *An Account of the American Antiquarian Society*, by its first President, Isaiah Thomas, which was printed in November, 1813, a year after the Society was formed:

Among the numerous societies formed in the United States for the promotion of literature, the useful and fine arts, and other valuable purposes, it appeared that one more might be added, which could also be truly beneficial, not only to the

present, but particularly to future generations—a society not confined to local purposes—not intended for the particular advantage of any one state or section of the union, or for the benefit of a few individuals—one whose members may be found in every part of our western continent and its adjacent island and who are citizens of all parts of this quarter of the world.

Each individual of the Society, we persuade ourselves, imbibe a belief that its reputation, in a great degree, depends on his individual efforts; and will feel an interest in collecting and forwarding to the Librarian, the Secretaries, or to any officer of the Institution, such antiquities of our country, whether of nature or of art, as may be portable, and which he can obtain; and authentic accounts of such as cannot be transported; with such articles of modern date, as are curious and interesting, and will tend to aid the purposes of the establishment. Justice will be done to the donor—his name will live on the records.

Among the articles of deposit, books of every description, including pamphlets and magazines, especially those which were early printed either in South or in North America; files of newspapers of former times, or of the present day, are particularly desirable . . . Manuscripts, ancient and modern, on interesting subjects, particularly those which give accounts of remarkable events, discoveries, or the description of any part of the continent, or the islands in the American seas; maps, charts, etc.

“The next is from a *Communication from the President of the Society to the Members, October 24, 1814*:

The Society cannot become extensively useful unless the objects for which it is instituted are pursued with some degree of energy. It will not be expected that we should individually devote a very considerable part of our time to the affairs of this institution; yet, without injury to himself, every member may do something for its benefit. There are various ways by which we may contribute to its prosperity;—some may bestow a little personal attention to the management of its local concerns;—others may devise projects by which its interest and its usefulness may be essentially promoted;—and others collect, as convenience and opportunity permit, articles for its Cabinet, and donations of books, files of newspapers or other periodical works, maps, charts, manuscripts, and various articles proper for the institution.

“In an address delivered October 23, 1815, at the third anniversary of the Society, Dr. William Paine said:

I wish it to be distinctly understood that the American Antiquarian Society is founded on the most liberal principles—is of no sect or party—has no local views—it embraces the continent. It solicits, and would gladly receive, communications from every part of the world, which have a tendency to elucidate the events of past ages, or excite a spirit of research for information which would be conducive to the happiness of the present or subsequent age. It is to be wished, that every member of the Society would endeavor, by the most active exertions, to add something to the common stock of antiquarian literature; and may we, my respectable associates, never lose sight of the truly valuable purposes of our Institution.

“These paragraphs seem peculiarly appropriate now when the Society has the building, which at that time it did not have, in which to store with the utmost safety the valuable books, newspapers, charts or manuscripts which members may be able to secure. I hope all may follow the advice of Mr. Thomas and Dr. Paine and help to obtain such collections.”

In proceeding to the election of new members, Mr. A. McF. Davis spoke of the qualifications of the candidates recommended by the Council. Messrs. Gage and Bates were appointed tellers to distribute and count the ballots. The following gentlemen were then elected members of the Society:

Thomas Willing Balch, Philadelphia, Pa.
John Spencer Bassett, Northampton, Mass.
Archibald Cary Coolidge, Boston, Mass.
Carl Russell Fish, Madison, Wis.
John Holladay Latané, Lexington, Va.

The President referred to the Centennial Anniversary of the Society, which is to be observed in October, 1912, and suggested that a committee of five be appointed to consider the arrangements for celebrating the centennial. Upon motion of Dr. Samuel A. Green that the President should appoint such a committee, and should himself be chairman, the chair appointed, besides himself, Hon. Charles G. Washburn and Hon. Arthur

P. Rugg of Worcester, Prof. Albert B. Hart of Cambridge and Prof. William MacDonald of Providence.

Mr. William Nelson of Paterson, N. J., read a paper on "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the Eighteenth Century."

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis of Cambridge, Mass., read a paper on "The Shays Rebellion, a Political Aftermath."

Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer of Harvard University, read a paper on "The Value of Ancient Mexican Manuscripts in the Study of the General Development of Writing."

By vote of the Society, the various papers were referred to the Committee of Publication.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

Secretary, pro tempore.

After the meeting, the members of the Society were entertained at luncheon at the Algonquin Club by the members residing in Boston and its vicinity.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Since the last meeting of the Society the thought and energy of the President and of the Librarian and his assistants have been mainly occupied in moving the contents of the older building to the newest. The literary material belonging to the Society has been arranged sufficiently to enable the executive officers to produce it readily for the use of inquirers, excepting the contents of the map and manuscript rooms. These, it is hoped, will be arranged before the next annual meeting of the Society.

At its March meeting the Council voted to have the President, or a substitute appointed by him, represent the Society in the American Year Book Corporation. Mr. Lincoln attended a meeting of that corporation later in the month.

At the same meeting it was voted to ask Messrs. Winship, Brigham, and Ford to serve as a permanent committee to report occasionally to the Council the names of scholars especially eligible for membership in the Society.

The volume of "Royal Proclamations relating to America," edited by the Librarian, is now in the printer's hands.

It has been necessary to discontinue for the present the work of Mr. Charles H. Lincoln on the manuscripts. He withdrew from our service November 1 of last year.

The following deaths have occurred of members of the Society during the last six months:

October 29, 1910, Rev. Morton Dexter who had just been elected a member of the Society.

November 11, 1910, our venerable associate and benefactor, James F. Hunnewell.



INTERIOR VIEW OF NEW BUILDING.

January 18, 1911, Bishop Alexander H. Vinton.

February 6, 1911, Prof. Leonard P. Kinnicutt.

March 6, 1911, Judge Francis C. Lowell.

Notices of these gentlemen have been prepared for publication by the biographer.

The members of the Society who were present at the meeting last October had the opportunity to examine the new building which was then nearly finished, but unfurnished. The furnishings are now in place. A good illustrated description of the building written by the Librarian appeared in the *Worcester Magazine* for February.

The structure is, as you know, in the Georgian style of architecture, and is dignified and picturesque as looked at from the outside, and attractive and convenient within. The chief purpose of the exterior is to reproduce the general appearance of the first hall of the Society, still standing on Summer street, although neglected in condition and used for comparatively humble purposes.

The Council at its March meeting looked with favor upon a suggestion that a pamphlet of creditable aspect, with illustrations of the new building, should be prepared and distributed somewhat widely among persons interested in the objects of the Society; and it was thought that a suitable occasion for its issue would be the occurrence of the centennial meeting of the Society in October, 1912.

In contemplation of the results of the recent destructive fire in the Capitol at Albany in which treasures which cannot be replaced were burned, it is satisfactory to reflect that our building stands on a lot of 60,000 feet, and besides securing by its situation an abundance of light and room for enlargement, is carefully protected from fire from the outside and is also a fire-proof structure. To emphasize this statement I quote the closing passage of Mr. Brigham's article in the *Worcester Magazine*.

"The most satisfactory feature of the new building is that it is thoroughly fireproof. With the walls and floors and ceilings all of cement, steel or brick, and with

the book shelves and even much of the equipment of metal, there is no reason why the Society should ever fear this greatest destroyer of books. Nor, in view of the large amount of open area around the building, is there danger of a sweeping conflagration. Thus with protection from fire, and with a building splendidly equipped to take care of the growth of years, the Society takes on new life and seeks to increase its sphere of usefulness as a great library of reference for students of the history of America."

Thus no officer of the Society need feel the anxiety, when there is a fire in the neighborhood of our new building, which is said to have always been experienced by the former of our Presidents Salisbury when an alarm indicated a fire near the building we have just left.

The writer of this report distinctly recalls the features of the original building of this Society. His mother and Mr. Samuel F. Haven, the Librarian, had been neighbors and friends in Dedham, Mass., in their younger days and when the latter came to Worcester to live he was a frequent guest in our family and always received me, when as a boy I visited the building, with marked cordiality. What especially interested me, however, was not the books, but a room filled with antiquities, mainly American.

When Mr. Thomas gave his private library to the Antiquarian Society in the spring of 1813 he was requested to retain it in his possession until a suitable place could be prepared for its reception. In 1817 active measures were taken to procure funds to defray the expense of erecting a building for the library and cabinet by appointing committees to solicit subscriptions, but some difficulty was experienced in the attempt to raise the necessary money to carry out the plans. Early in the year 1819, however, Mr. Thomas offered to put up a building at his own expense for the accommodation of the Society and its library, and in August of that year a committee was appointed, at his request, to superintend its erection. The work was attended

to at once, and the central portion of the old Antiquarian Hall on Summer street was dedicated to the uses of the Society, August 24, 1820. The two wings were added to the main structure in 1832. The building, however, proved too small to house the growing library and was also found to be damp. The main portion of the building just vacated was therefore put up in 1853. But the rapidly increasing collection of books demanded still ampler accommodations, and an addition to the building was determined upon. That was finished in 1877. In putting up the building and adding to it, the Society was assisted by very generous contributions of money from the earlier Stephen Salisbury who was our President for thirty years.

The Council wishes to congratulate the Society upon the large and admirable results which have followed the thought and energetic labors of its principal officers, and to bespeak from all the members hearty co-operation in efforts for its increased prosperity.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

MORTON DEXTER.

Morton Dexter died October 29, 1910. He was born at Manchester, N. H., July 12, 1846, was graduated at Yale in 1867 with the degree of A. B., which was followed by that of A. M. in 1870, in which year he was graduated from the Andover Theological Seminary. From 1870 to 1873 he was abroad and then was pastor of the Union Church in Taunton, Mass., remaining there till 1878 when he took the position of associate editor and later editor and part owner of the "Congregationalist" in Boston. In 1901 he retired from business life to devote himself to the history of the Pilgrims, especially their religious history, in which he had long been interested. He completed an unfinished work of his father's entitled "England, Holland and the Pilgrims." His own writings include: "The Story of the Pilgrims," "Congregationalism in America," and many papers on similar topics. He contributed valuable articles to the "Mayflower Descendant" on early Dutch records which he had investigated when abroad. In July, 1891, he was secretary and treasurer of a committee which dedicated a memorial bronze tablet to John Robinson in Leyden, Holland.

Mr. Dexter was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants; and he became a member of this Society at the meeting in October, 1910, only a few days before his death. On June 9, 1881, he married Miss Emily Loud Sanford of Taunton, Mass., who with two daughters survives him.

S. U.

JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL.

James Frothingham Hunnewell joined this Society in 1869, and was sixth in seniority of membership when he died in Boston, November 11, 1910. He was born in Charlestown, Mass., July 3, 1832, and resided there and in Boston during his life. He was educated in the public schools, and with his father engaged in foreign commerce, from which he retired several years ago to devote himself to historical and antiquarian studies in which he had long been interested. He was also concerned with philanthropy and the management of trusts to both of which he gave much attention. He was for nearly half a century member of the Charlestown School Board, trustee of the Charlestown Public Library, member of the Standing Committee of the First Parish, president of the Charlestown Gas Company, vice-president of the Winchester Home for Aged Women, trustee of the Free Dispensary, trustee of the Five Cents Savings Bank, director of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and in many ways as a good citizen served the community in which he lived.

In his travels he had collected many interesting and valuable books and records. As a local historian he had a high standing, and his publications show careful and discriminating study and research. Some of his more important works are "Bibliography of Charlestown and Bunker Hill," "Bibliography of the Hawaiian Islands," "Historical Monuments of France," "History of Charlestown," "Hunnewell Genealogy," "The Imperial Island, England's Chronicle in Stone," and "Lands of Scott." He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of its Council, of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and of many business and social clubs. He has always shown a deep interest in this Society, has contributed to its Proceedings a paper on "Certain Great Monuments" to be found in new series, volume XVI, one on "Illustrated Americana," in three parts, to be found in new series,

volumes VI and VII, one on "Notes on Early American Literature" to be found in new series, volume XI, one on "Several Great Libraries" to be found in new series, volume XIII. He has also given to the Society his own publications and has made an extremely liberal contribution to the fund now being raised. He was a very constant and interested attendant at our meetings, where his cordial greetings to all will be sadly missed. On April 3, 1872, he married Sarah M. Farnsworth, who with one son survives him. S. U.

LEONARD PARKER KINNICUTT.

Leonard Parker Kinnicutt was born in Worcester, Mass., May 22, 1854, resided there during his life, and died February 6, 1911. He was graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1875 with the degree of Sc. B. Following his graduation he studied at Heidelberg and Bonn for four years and, returning to the United States in 1879, took a year of post-graduate work in Johns Hopkins University. He then entered Harvard, where he remained for three years, receiving the degree of Sc. D. in 1882. While at Harvard he was also instructor in chemistry. Since 1883 he has been connected with the Worcester Polytechnic Institute as assistant professor, professor, and director of the Chemical Laboratory.

As a specialist in sanitation, particularly in relation to water supply and sewage disposal, Professor Kinnicutt was widely known and was frequently called as an expert in chemical matters. From 1903 to 1905 he was consulting chemist for the Connecticut Sewage Commission. He was a member of many learned societies, American and foreign, including this Society which he joined in 1896 and to which he contributed a paper entitled "Nephrite and Jadeite" to be found in new series, volume VI. He was a member of the Worcester Medical Commission to investigate the

question of pure milk, and was the author of many publications relating to his specialties.

S. U.

FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.

Francis Cabot Lowell was born in Boston, January 7, 1855, resided in that city during his life and died there March 6, 1911. He was graduated from Harvard in 1876 with the degree of A. B., studied in Harvard Law School 1877-79, was admitted to the bar in 1880, practiced law in Boston till 1898 when he was appointed Judge of the United States District Court for the district of Massachusetts, holding that office until 1905 when he was appointed United States Circuit Judge for the first circuit, in which office he died. In character and ability he stood among the very first, and his decisions were met with approval by the bar as well as by the community at large. He was the author of "Joan of Arc," a notable work published in 1896, as well as numerous addresses and magazine articles. He served in the Boston Common Council, the Massachusetts Legislature, was a fellow of Harvard University, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and of this Society which he joined in 1895. The degree of LL. D. was conferred on him by Williams College in 1910. He was married in New York, November 27, 1882, to Miss Cornelia Prime Baylies.

S. U.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON VINTON.

Alexander Hamilton Vinton, a member of this Society since 1903, died January 18, 1911. He was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., March 30, 1852, and was graduated from St. Stephen's College in 1873 with a degree of A. B. He then entered the General Theological Seminary in New York where he remained until 1876, after which he studied as a graduate in the University of Leipsic. In 1878 he took charge of the Church of the Holy Communion in Nor-

wood, N. J., going in 1879 to the Church of the Holy Comforter in Philadelphia. In 1884 he became rector of All Saint's Church in Worcester, Mass., which position he filled till 1902 when he was elected first bishop of the diocese of western Massachusetts, in which office he passed the remainder of his life. While devoted to his Church, he was not regarded as a partisan, and was noted for his executive capacity, for his interest in missionary work, and for quiet, wide-spread charity.

He was a trustee of Smith College and of the General Theological Seminary. These honorary degrees were conferred upon him: S. T. B., by the General Theological Seminary in 1876; D. D., by St. Stephen's College in 1890, the General Theological Seminary in 1902, and Williams College in 1909; and LL. D., by St. Stephen's College in 1902. In his death his Church meets with a great loss.

S. U.

SOME NEW JERSEY PRINTERS AND PRINTING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM NELSON.

The story of the development of printing and of newspapers in New Jersey is much the same as in other parts of the country, and hence, while the theme here discussed is nominally local, it actually represents the experience of nearly every other Province and State in our Union.

The ruling powers in England had always a jealous dread of the influence of the press, which in times of political excitement was wont to pour forth a torrent of virulent pamphlets, loading with obloquy the persons attacked. And so it was the rule to embody in the instructions given to the royal Governors of the several Provinces in America, strict injunctions for the restriction of the liberty of printing. Thus Queen Anne, in her instructions to Lord Cornbury, prescribing his powers and duties as Governor of New Jersey, November 16, 1702, among other things provided:

99. Forasmuch as great inconveniences may arise by the liberty of printing in our said province, you are to provide by all necessary orders, that no person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet or other matters whatsoever be printed without your especial leave and license first obtained.

Inasmuch as the Bradfords, William and Andrew, already had presses established at Philadelphia and at New York, there seemed to be no occasion for any printing office in New Jersey, and Cornbury had no oppor-

tunity to exercise his restrictive powers in that respect, in that Province.

The Bradfords, indeed, had a monopoly of the printing for New Jersey, for more than half a century, with one or two exceptions. The earliest laws and other official publications of New Jersey bear the imprint of one or the other of the Bradfords, the printing being actually done in Philadelphia or New York.

THE FIRST NEW JERSEY IMPRINT.

In the year 1723 there was published by Bradford, a book with the following title:

Anno Regni / Georgii / Regis / Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ / Decimo, / At a Session of the General Assembly of the / Colony of New-Jersey, begun the twenty fourth Day of / September, Anno Domini 1723. and continued by Ad- / journments to the 30th Day of November following, at / which time the following Acts were Published. / [Royal Arms.] / Printed by William Bradford in the City of Perth-Amboy, / 1723. / Folio. Title, 1 leaf; pp. 3-33, (1 blank), (4).

This is the first book with a New Jersey imprint.

There is a curious fact connected with this edition of the laws. At the same time there was issued another edition, with precisely the same title, but with the imprint: "Printed by William Bradford, in the City of New-York, 1723." This had but thirty-two pages. A careful examination shows that these two editions were both printed in twos; the first twenty-four pages of each edition were printed from the same type and the same forms. Apparently to save one leaf the last eight pages for the New York edition were set in slightly wider measure, thus bringing the book within thirty-two pages. Evidently the Assembly, or its clerk, or some other official, objected to the removal of the original manuscripts to a foreign jurisdiction, and insisted that the printing of the laws should be done within the Province, thereby forcing Bradford to bring his type and press from New York down to Perth Amboy. After he had finished the printing of his Perth Amboy

edition, he discovered that he lacked paper sufficient to complete the number of laws he had planned for the New York edition, and thereupon he reset the last nine pages of the Perth Amboy issue, compressing them within eight pages, through the expedient of using a wider measure. It seems to us surprising that a printer should find it pay to reset eight folio pages in order to save one leaf in a book.

THE SECOND NEW JERSEY IMPRINT.

The various laws and ordinances of the Province for the next four years were printed by William Bradford in New York. In 1728, however, the laws were again printed in New Jersey, this time at Burlington by Samuel Keimer, who evidently brought up a press from Philadelphia for the purpose. He printed some currency for New Jersey at Burlington, at the same time, and there is reason to believe that Benjamin Franklin had a hand in the work. The title of this first Burlington and second New Jersey imprint is as follows:

Acts / and / Laws / of His Majesty's Province of Nova Cæsarea, or / New-Jersey: / As they were Enacted by the Governor, / Council, and General Assembly at a Ses- / sion held at Perth-Amboy, beginning / the 9th of December, 1727. in the / First Year of the Reign of his Majesty / King George the Second. / [Royal Arms.] / Burlington: Printed and Sold by Samuel Keimer, / Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for / the Province of New Jersey. MDCCXXVIII. / Folio. Title, 1 leaf; advertisement, 1 leaf; pp. [3]-51; Table, 1 leaf.

Only two copies are known, one being in the State Library at Trenton, and the other in my own collection.

THE FIRST PERMANENT PRINTING OFFICE IN NEW JERSEY.

James Parker was born at Woodbridge, New Jersey, in 1714. He was a son of Samuel Parker, and a grandson of Elisha Parker, who probably came from Barnstable in Massachusetts, settling first at Woodbridge,

whence he removed to Staten Island. By indenture dated January 1, 1726 (1727, N. S.), we learn that, Parker's father being deceased, the boy put himself apprentice to William Bradford, of the city of New York, Printer, "with him to live and (after the manner of an apprentice) to serve from the first day of January—Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and twenty-six—till the full Term of Eight years be compleated and Ended," with the usual pledges to serve as an apprentice; his master binding himself that during the said term he should "by the best means or Method that he can Teach or Cause the said Apprentice to be Taught, the Art or Mystery of a Printer and Book-Binder," he to furnish him during the said term "with sufficient Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging and washing fitting for an apprentice and at the Expiration of said Term of Eight years shall give to said Apprentice two suits of Apparel one of them to be new." The boy seems to have found his service a hard one, for in the "New York Gazette" of May 21, 1733, Bradford advertised him as having run away. It is not unlikely that he wandered to Philadelphia and found employment in the office of Benjamin Franklin. That shrewd judge of boys and men afterwards proved himself to be a substantial backer and life-long friend of the Jersey printer. On February 26, 1741-2, Franklin formed a copartnership with him "for the Carrying on the Business of Printing in the City of New-York," for the term of "Six Years from the Day on which he, the said James Parker, shall be in possession of a Printing-Press, Types and Materials in the City of New-York aforesaid, provided by the said Benjamin Franklin," who was to furnish a printing press, with its appurtenances, and four hundred weight of letter, delivered at New York to Parker. The business and working part of the printing was to be under the management and control of Parker. The supplies, rent, etc., were to be divided into three equal parts, two-thirds to be defrayed by Franklin, and the other third by Parker. The profits were to be divided on the like

basis. Parker seems to have maintained the closest and most confidential business relations with Franklin during the rest of his life, receiving from him marks of the greatest confidence; and the closest intimacy subsisted between the families of the two men. Bradford's "New York Gazette," established in 1725, when the printer was sixty-five years of age, steadily grew worse in appearance and contents, as the printer advanced in years. Toward the end of 1742, it was evidently in a moribund condition, and there was clearly a demand for a better and more up-to-date paper in New York. Accordingly, on January 4, 1742-3, Parker issued a new paper, the third in New York, "The New-York Weekly Post-Boy." The "Gazette" lingered along until November 19, 1744, when it finally expired. Parker thereupon changed the name of his paper to "The New-York Gazette, revived in The Weekly Post-Boy." Beginning December 1, 1743, he secured from the New York Assembly the appointment of public printer for that Province. After various experiences in the conduct of his newspaper in New York, he established, in 1751, a printing office in his native town of Woodbridge, and from 1753 on he gave his personal and almost exclusive attention to his Woodbridge plant. Thus Parker was the first native Jersey printer, and set up the first permanent printing office in that State. The "Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Province of New Jersey," for the session held July 22-27, 1756, constituted his first official printing at Woodbridge; the first Laws from his press were the Acts passed March 23-August 12, 1758. On September 26, 1758, he was appointed by the Assembly "Government Printer"; and on September 9, 1762, "King's Printer" for New Jersey, which office he retained until his death in 1770, printing all the laws and ordinances of the Province during that time at Woodbridge, the last issue of his press there being the Votes of the session held at Burlington, March 14-27, 1770. He was likewise honored with the appointment of Judge of the

Court of Common Pleas of Middlesex County, June 2, 1764, and it is stated in his obituary notice that he was likewise "Captain of a Troop of Horse." The most important production of his printing office was a compilation of the laws of the Province from 1753 to 1761, the work of Samuel Nevill, who had caused the first volume of his compilation to be printed by William Bradford, second, at Philadelphia, 1752. The second volume bears the imprint: "Woodbridge, in New Jersey: Printed by James Parker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, for the Province." It is a well printed folio, pp. x., (2), 401, 56, 64, (2). In 1764 he was the author, printer and publisher of a bulky, small octavo volume (pp. xxi, 592), entitled "Conductor Generalis," setting forth the powers and duties of a Justice of the Peace, an office which he held himself. The book was in great vogue for twenty years or more, being reprinted in 1788 by Hugh Gaine at New York. Aside from the books mentioned, and the Votes and Acts, his work was, for the most part, of trifling importance.

On or about April 12, 1755, he began the publication of the first newspaper in Connecticut, "The Connecticut Gazette," the first number of which bears this imprint: "New Haven, in Connecticut: Printed by James Parker, at the Post-Office, near the Sign of the White Horse." This was a little sheet of four pages, the printed page measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, afterwards enlarged to $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 14 inches, two columns to the page. It is said that Benjamin Franklin sent the printing plant on to New Haven in the fall of 1754, with the intention of establishing his nephew, Benjamin Mecom. That young man declined the opportunity, and Parker assumed the task, buying the material of Franklin. From November 29, 1755, he associated with him John Holt, under the firm name of James Parker and Company. Holt thought to better himself by going to New York in 1760, whereupon Thomas Green was employed to conduct the "Gazette," which was continued till April 17, 1764, when it was suspended. Benjamin

Mecom revived the paper July 5, 1765. It finally ceased with Number 596, February 19, 1768.

THE FIRST NEW JERSEY MAGAZINE.

In 1758, Parker, with the assistance of some literary gentlemen of the Province, issued "The New American Magazine," edited by "Sylvanus Americanus," a pseudonym assumed by Samuel Nevill, Second Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province, 1749-1764, who lived in the neighboring town of Perth Amboy. The new Magazine promptly superseded "The American Magazine," which had been published for a short time at Philadelphia. The contents of a single number (the first) are thus paged: Title, 1 leaf; History of North America, pp. 1-16; The Traveller, pp. 1-8; The Monthly Miscellany, pp. 1-24 (including Poetical Essays, pp. 13-16, The Chronological Diary, pp. 17-20, and The Historical Chronicle, pp. 21-24), and Naval Engagements, (2). or 48 in all, exclusive of the first leaf and the last, which were regarded as the wrapper. Beginning with the third number, March, 1758, there was given in The Historical Chronicle, a leaf of "Meteorological Observations at Philadelphia" for the month. The collation of such a Magazine is the despair of the bibliographer. This periodical appeared regularly from January, 1758, until March, 1760—twenty-seven numbers, when it was reluctantly discontinued for the surely adequate reason that there was "a Deficiency in the Number of Subscribers to defray the Expence of Printing." It was well edited (according to the ideas of that day), contained considerable original matter and news, and was a neatly printed octavo.

A CURIOUS PAPER, WITH A CURIOUS HISTORY.

The first newspaper, if it may be so called, printed in New Jersey, was quite certainly printed by Parker at Woodbridge. This was a protest against the passage of the Stamp Act. Thomas, in his "History of Print-

ing," says it was entitled "*The Constitutional Gazette*, containing Matters interesting to Liberty—but no wise Repugnant to Loyalty. In the center of the title was the device of a snake, cut into parts, to represent colonies. Motto—'Join or Die' This paper was without date, but was printed in September, 1765. It contained several well written and spirited essays against the obnoxious Stamp Act, which were so highly colored, that the editors of newspapers in New York, declined to publish them. . . . It had a rapid sale and was, I believe, reprinted in New York and at Boston." In the reprint of the History, issued by the Antiquarian Society in 1874, there is a correction, changing the name "Gazette," to "Courant." The History was originally printed forty-five years after the issue of the paper in question. I have often wondered if the correction were correct. In other words, may there not have been an edition of this paper styled "*The Constitutional Gazette*"? Governor Colden, of New York, writing to the Hon. H. S. Conway, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, for the Southern Department, under date of New York, 12th October, 1765, says that the Postmaster of that city had informed him that "one or more bundles" of the paper "were delivered at Woodbridge in New Jersey, to the Postrider, by James Parker, Secrettary of the General Post Office in America. Parker was formerly a Printer in this Place & has now a Printing Press & continues to print occasionally. It is believed that this Paper was printed by him." From a careful comparison made about ten years ago of one of the issues of this paper with a contemporary copy of Parker's "*New-York Post-Boy*," I was satisfied that both papers were printed from the same type; and, moreover, that the wood-cut in the heading of the "*Courant*" was the identical wood-cut used by Parker in his "*Post-Boy*" at the time of the Albany Congress, in 1754, when the plan of uniting the Colonies was so strongly urged. A closer examination shows that there were at least two issues of the paper with this device

in the heading, the symbol being printed from different cuts, one of them enclosed within rules. The type also has been reset. Another edition has no such device in the heading. All three of these issues have the same title, "The Constitutional Courant," and are dated above the heading, "Saturday, September 21, 1765, Numb. or Num. 1." A copy with the device in the heading, in the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library Company, has a note under the colophon, in the handwriting of Du Simitiere: "This is the Original, Published in New York." Most of the copies extant consist of two pages, of three columns each. In the Library just named there is a copy having but one page, with three columns, and lacking the device. At the end Du Simitiere has printed: "This was published in Philadelphia." Still another edition has two pages, with two wide columns and one narrow column. Some years ago I located two copies, of different issues, in the Harvard Library; one in the Boston Athenæum, and one in the Massachusetts Historical Society—making four in all in this intellectual center; one at Yale; one in the Lenox Library, New York; two, of different issues, in the Philadelphia Library, Ridgway Branch; one in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and one in my own collection, the last since consumed in the Paterson fire of 1902. This leaves nine in America; perhaps there are more. I found six copies in the House of Commons papers in London, probably sent over by Governor Colden, and I think one in the Public Record Office.

THE WORK OF THE WOODBRIDGE PRESS.

I have listed seventy-nine issues of the Woodbridge Press, from 1754 to 1770, inclusive. Of these, two were issued in 1776, with the imprint of Samuel F. Parker, James Parker's son. Twenty-five of them were occasional orations, sermons, discourses, and the like. The rest were the acts and votes of the Legislature. The two works mentioned above were the most compre-

hensive. The last book was the Acts of the Legislature, passed March 24-27, 1770.

THE FIRST PERMANENT PRINTING OFFICE AT BURLINGTON;
AND THE SPOILING OF A PRETTY STORY.

In Thomas's History of Printing, the importance and value of which I appreciate more fully as I dive more deeply into the history of American printing and American newspapers, there is told this pretty story:

To accommodate the printing of Smith's History of New-jersey, in 1765, Parker removed his press to Burlington, and there began and completed the work, consisting of 570 pages, demy octavo, and then returned with his press to Woodbridge.

It is a pretty story, is it not? It would be so much easier for the author of the history to send his manuscript up to Woodbridge, than it would be for a printer to move his printing office, which had been established for fourteen years, down to Burlington, a distance of forty or fifty miles. Parker was a native of Woodbridge, and would be loth to leave his native town for Burlington. Moreover, he had close business relations with New York. He was comptroller of the post offices in America, and had his offices at Woodbridge. He issued at least five bits of printing from Woodbridge in 1765, which would seem to militate against the supposition that he had moved his office to Burlington. At Burlington, also, he printed the votes of the Assembly, held November 26-30, 1765. Altogether, there seemed much reason to doubt the accuracy of this story. But Thomas is so very reliable; he was a practical printer, and would see and weigh the improbability of this tradition, which would be only a tradition as it came to him. So if he accepted it as a fact, anyone doubting it would hesitate before giving voice to his doubts. However, here is Parker's own account of this venture, in some letters to Benjamin Franklin, in the spring of 1765, and later:

Woodbridge March 28, 1765 . . . Samuel Smith, Esq^r of Burlington, has some years since been composing a History

of New Jersey:—I had told him seven years ago, if he had it printed by me, I would go to Burlington to do it:—A few Weeks ago, he claim'd my Promise, and as I have not much Work here, and I was otherwise strongly invited thither, upon deliberating of it,—I apprehended, that the Printing Materials of Ben: Mecom's which were in my Store Room in New York, if you wanted them for any Cause, they would be handier for you at Burlington, than at NYork, but that, if not, I would take them myself and pay you for them:—They are indeed valued in B. Mecom's Book, as they cost new, whereas they are not quite so: However, I apprehended, we should not differ about them; and if you did not chuse to let me have them, I could but allow you for the little Use I might make of them till called for: I went to New York, and this Day Week shipp'd them on board of a sloop to go round by Water to Philadelphia, in order that they might not be bruised by Land Carriage:—I hope they will get there safe tho' this Month is a precarious Season, but as its but a little Way, I flatter myself they will be safe:— . . . I shall take two or three of my Boys with me, and leave my Wife here, as also my Son with this Printing-Office if happily he may get or do as much Work as will maintain him. it is probable I shall finish in 5 or 6 Months, or perhaps sooner, unless more Work than I expect should offer; and if any such Encouragement should offer, it is not improbable but I may remove thither entirely.

P. S. April 2, 1765 . . . The printing Material which I shipped round, are arrived safe at Burlington, and I am going to set off for that place as soon as y^e Roads will let me;

Burlington. April 25, 1765 . . . In my last to you, I acquainted you of my intention to remove the Press and printing Materials, late B. Mecom's to this Place, and of my having shipped them accordingly:—By a small Pamphlet, you will receive from the Gov^r you will perceive it done:—I am just now finishing it:—I then told you, I apprehended, that if you were desirous of doing any Thing else with them, they would be handy here; but if you inclined to part with them if such Prospect appeared that I could purchase them, I would:—We had some Design of doing a News paper here, but the News of the Killing Stamp, has struck a deadly Blow to all my Hopes on that Head.— . . . I should not have come to Burlington, where my Family of Boys only are with me, but for the Governor's Desire, and a Book I am going to print for Sam: Smith, Esq^r called *The History of New Jersey*, which I had promised him to come and do seven years ago, if he proceeded on with it.—I might probably have removed for good, as the printing Business is so very frivolous and trifling at Woodbridge, but

the Cruel Stamp-Duty has filled me with fresh Apprehensions, that I conceive, I shall soon drop all the Business entire.¹

Philadelphia, June 14, 1765 . . . I have inform'd you, I had sent B. Mecom's Printing Materials round to Burlington, where I am doing a Book for Samuel Smith, called *the History of New Jersey*:—He does but 600 of them, and its thought will consist of between 25 and 30 sheets 8^{vo} I had Thought of purchasing them: But being distressed on every Quarter, and the fatal *Black-Act* lately passed, must render printing of very little Consequence: so that I think I cannot afford to purchase them, unless they should come much cheaper than the Charge of them to Mecom;—and indeed they are in many Things the worse for wear.—I had rather pay for the Use of them, in printing this Book, but as to any Thing of this Matter, I hope we shall not differ:—for they will be handier to dispose of at your Pleasure, here than at New York:—

Burlington, Sept. 22, 1765 Mr. Smith's History has yet 5 or 6 more sheets at least . . .

Woodbridge, Oct. 10, 1765 Being called to different Businesses on account of y^e present Situation of Affairs, I have neither had Time to proceed with the Accounts nor finish Samuel Smith's History:—

Burlington, Decemb. 20, 1765 . . . I wrote to you to beg to know, what I shall do with the Press and Materials I have here late Benj. Mecom's. as I will deliver them to your Order at Philadelphia. I have finished the Book of S. Smiths, and my Hands are all gone to New-York and Woodbridge, where I should have followed, but for my illness.— . . .

Burlington, Jan. 4, 1766. My Illness has detain'd me here upon Cost, or I had been with all my Family at Woodbridge by this Time,—I have not but a Wench and three young People with me:—all the rest are at Woodbridge, tho' little or nothing going on, but sickness.—I wish I may know where to put these Materials for your Pleasure, as I would leave them:—If I can get to New York before the first of May, I will:

Philadelphia, February 3, 1766 I have nobody at work at Burlington, nor no work. I wish I may hear where to dispose of those Printing Materials of B. Mecom's, as I can't leave them at Burlington.²

¹ The "Governor" referred to was William Franklin, Benjamin Franklin's son, the last Royal Governor of New Jersey.

² The original of the above letters are in the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. Most of them were published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series 2, Vol. 16, pp. 197-203.

Thus we see that Parker *did not* remove his printing plant from Woodbridge to Burlington, but that he set up an independent establishment there for the purpose not only of printing Smith's History, but of doing other printing as well.

As I have said, it is a pretty story.

Non é vero, é ben trovato.

Parker continued his outfit at Burlington until his death, July 2, 1770, in his fifty-sixth year. He had been a great sufferer for several years from the gout. He was buried the day after his death, with much pomp, at Woodbridge. Besides the press and types at Burlington, he left one press at New Haven, two at New York and one at Woodbridge, all of which he bequeathed to his son. "The New York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy," in giving a brief account of his death and burial, added this scanty characterization: "Mr. Parker has carried on the Printing Business, chiefly in New-York, and some Time in New Jersey, for about 30 Years, and was eminent in his Profession. He possessed a sound Judgment, & extensive Knowledge: He was industrious in Business, upright in his Dealings, charitable to the Distressed, and has left a fair Character, on which we have neither Time nor Room to enlarge." Thomas says: "Parker was a correct and eminent printer . . . he possessed a sound judgment, and a good heart; was industrious in business, and upright in his dealings."

Immediately on the death of Parker, a petition was presented to the Assembly of New Jersey, dated September 28, 1770, by Samuel F. Parker, his son, stating that the printing office at Woodbridge had devolved on him, and praying the house to appoint him their printer. The next day, Isaac Collins memorialized the Assembly that having been informed of the death of the late James Parker, he had removed his printing office from Philadelphia to Burlington, and asked to be appointed their printer. Three days later a vote was taken on the question, eight members voting for young Parker,

and ten for Collins, who was therefore appointed the printer to the Assembly. Only about a year before, or in 1769, he had formed a partnership with Joseph Crukshank in Philadelphia, in the carrying on of a printing office there, and a book and stationery store. Collins did much excellent work at Burlington, and of great variety in character. A splendid production of his press was Sewel's History of the Quakers, printed in 1774; a sumptuous quarto of 840 pages. It is printed on good paper, in large clear type, the register is perfect, and altogether it is a model specimen of typography.

THE FIRST PERMANENT NEWSPAPER IN NEW JERSEY.

As the Revolution progressed, the want of a newspaper in New Jersey, that should reflect the sentiment of the struggling patriots, was keenly felt. At a meeting of the Legislature, October 11, 1777, this message was received from Governor William Livingston:

Gentlemen: It would be an unnecessary Consumption of Time to enumerate all the Advantages that would redound to the State from having a Weekly News-Paper printed and circulated in it.—To facilitate such an Undertaking, it is proposed that the first Paper be circulated as soon as seven hundred subscribers, whose Punctuality in paying may be relied upon, shall be procured: Or if Government will insure seven hundred subscribers who shall pay, the Work will be immediately begun; and if at the End of six Months there shall be seven hundred or more subscribers who will pay punctually, the Claim upon the Government to cease. But if the subscribers fall short of that Number, Government to become a subscriber so as to make up that Number. The Price in these fluctuating Times can hardly be ascertained, but it is supposed it cannot at present be less than Twenty-six shillings per Year, which will be but six Pence a Paper.

The matter was referred to a Committee, of whom William Churchill Houston was chairman, who after a conference with Collins, made a report wherein they recommended that his proposal be accepted, to wit: 1. A paper to be printed weekly, in four folio pages, and entitled, "New-Jersey Gazette"; 2. Price to be

twenty-six shillings per year; 3. The Legislature to guarantee seven hundred subscribers within six months; 4. A Cross-Post to be established from the Printing Office, to the nearest Continental post office at the expense of the State; 5. The printer and four workmen to be exempted from service in the militia. These recommendations were adopted, and the first number of this subsidized newspaper was issued to the world, December 5, 1777. It was a neatly-printed four-page sheet, four columns to the page. Collins removed his printing plant to Trenton with the issue for March 4, 1778. He received such feeble support that in July, 1783, he discontinued the publication. He resumed, however, in a number for Tuesday, December 9, 1783, and continued until Monday, November 27, 1786, when with Number 446 he suspended publication for the second and last time. He continued, nevertheless, to print at Trenton, so late as 1796, holding the office of public printer during most of that time. Among the issues of his Trenton press were a compilation of the laws, 1776-1783, printed in 1784 in a large folio; Ramsey's History of the Revolution of South Carolina, in two very creditable octavo volumes; a well printed octavo New Testament in 1788; another edition of the New Testament in the same year in 16mo., of which I am fortunate enough to be the owner of the only copy extant. His edition of the Bible in quarto, published in 1791, was a most formidable undertaking, and was a highly creditable specimen of typography, enjoying a deserved popularity for thirty or forty years. He issued an octavo edition of the Bible in 1793. Altogether, the issues of his press at Burlington were fifty in number; while those at Trenton foot up more than one hundred and thirty.

Isaac Collins was born 2d mo. 16, 1746, in New Castle County, Delaware. He was apprenticed to James Adams, printer, in Wilmington, Delaware, and at his request, in his twentieth year entered the office of William Rind, at Williamsburg, Virginia. He removed to

Philadelphia in 1766, where he was employed about eighteen months in the printing office of William Goddard and others, and soon became acquainted with Joseph Crukshank, with whom he formed a partnership, as already stated, which subsisted for a very short time, owing to a lack of capital on the part of Collins. A certificate of his appointment as printer for New Jersey is in the possession of his descendants. It bears date, October 30, 1770. He removed to New York in 1796, where three years later he opened a printing office, taking one of his sons into partnership in 1802 in his printing office and the book-selling business. This enterprise was carried on by various descendants so late as 1884. In 1808, Isaac Collins returned to Burlington, where he died 3d mo. 21, 1817. He was an excellent printer, and was always regarded as a thoroughly upright, honest citizen.

ANOTHER SUBSIDIZED WAR NEWSPAPER—THE NEW
JERSEY JOURNAL.

You remember that remarkably precocious composition of Alexander Hamilton, a lad of but fourteen years, when he wrote his vivid description of the hurricane at St. Croix, in the West Indies, in 1772? Now, about that time there was in St. Christopher's a young printer from Delaware, Shepard Kollock, who had repaired thither on account of his health, two years before. What more natural than to suppose that he set up this letter of Hamilton's, and that from this circumstance there arose a friendship between the two young men? Seven years later Hamilton was on the staff of General Washington, and engaged in the Revolutionary War, while Kollock was a Lieutenant in Col. John Lamb's Artillery Regiment, enlisted in the same struggle. Both were in northern New Jersey. The New York newspapers were then in the control of the British. The Trenton newspaper was published by a Quaker. Evidently there was occasion for a newspaper ardently devoted to the American cause. Shepard Kollock was

induced to start such a newspaper, with the title "The New-Jersey Journal," February 16, 1779, at Chatham, New Jersey, four or five miles from Morristown, where Washington frequently had his headquarters. It has been said that General Knox suggested it. Is it unreasonable to suppose that Hamilton induced his friend of St. Kitt's, and his fellow artillery officer, to become the founder of this newspaper? That it was started as a "war measure," with official backing, further appears from sundry receipts (the originals are in my collection) of the Army Commissary at Morristown during 1780, showing that on February 2, he furnished Kollock with "Nine Hundred W^t of old Tent Unfitt for service"; also the same day "one Ream letter Paper three Ream Common Paper." A week later "one Ream of Common Paper" was furnished for the use of "Shepard Kollock Printer at Chatham"; and three days later "Fourteen quire common & four quire large Post Paper," receipted for by Shelly Arnett, who was an apprentice and a few years later a partner of Kollock. On March 29 "One ream Common paper" was furnished to Kollock "for printing returns." On May 21, he was given "Eight Hundred Three Quarters & Twelve pound old Tent Cloath," presumably to be manufactured into paper. On June 4, the Commissary delivered for his use, "Two Bundles Old Tent Rags w^t Two Hundred One Quarter Also Six Ream Paper for Printing returns for Ad^{lt} Gen^l Also One Other Bagg w^t Two Hundred One Quarter old tent Rags." The furnishing of a newspaper printer with supplies from the very scanty army stores is, I think, rather a unique incident of the Revolution.

"THE POLITICAL INTELLIGENCER AND NEW JERSEY
ADVERTISER"—THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING
AT NEW BRUNSWICK.

The close of the War found Kollock located in a little country village, remote from any considerable center of population. He aspired to a broader and more active

field of service. Accordingly he removed to New Brunswick, the seat of Queen's College (now Rutgers), and there formed a partnership with his sometime apprentice, Shelly Arnett, the firm name being Kollock and Arnett, by whom was issued "The Political Intelligencer and New Jersey Advertiser," on Tuesday, October 14, 1783, the printing office being "at the Barracks," a building which had been erected by the Province about 1758 for the quartering of the British troops stationed in New Jersey from time to time. The new paper was a neatly-printed sheet, of four pages, three columns to the page, with a flowery cut for a heading. Later, the printing office was removed to the College. The partnership was discontinued July 6, 1784, after which the newspaper was carried on by Kollock alone. He wielded a trenchant pen, prided himself upon his army service, and was fierce in his denunciation of the tories or refugees. He declined to publish a poem with a Latin introduction, "for fear of wounding the delicacy of some of his female readers," and, moreover, recommended Dilworth's Spelling Book to the writer. Again, he gave notice that a communication entitled "The Pleasures of Celebacy; or the Miseries of Matrimony, are inadmissible—we profess ourselves advocates for the connubial state." Number 79, Wednesday, April 20, 1785, was issued from Elizabethtown. With the issue for Wednesday, May 10, 1786, Numb. 134, the title was changed to "New-Jersey Journal and Political Intelligencer." It is still published as the "Elizabeth Daily Journal." Kollock was an excellent craftsman. At Elizabeth he printed several works of considerable size, including Bishop Thomas Newton's "Dissertations on the Prophecies," two volumes; Klopstock's "Messiah"; an octavo edition of the New Testament; the "American Preacher," three volumes; two or three collections of poems and hymns, etc.; nor should it be forgotten that he first gave to the world Jedidiah Morse's famous "American Geography," in 1789; nor that one of the earliest editions of that delightful classic, Weems's "Life of Washing-

ton," was printed by Kollock in 1800. He issued also the third New Jersey Magazine, Number 1, Vol. 1, for April and May, 1789, being issued in the latter month, under the formidable title, "The Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine; calculated, in an eminent degree, to promote Religion; to disseminate useful Knowledge; to afford literary Pleasure; and Amusement; and to advance the interests of Agriculture. By a number of Gentlemen."

The evacuation of New York City by the British, inspired Kollock to start a paper there, and on Monday, December 7, 1783, he issued "The New York Gazetteer, and Country Journal," a weekly paper, which in the following March became a tri-weekly, issued every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. This was continued until Friday, December 3, 1784, Number 130. With the issue for December 7, 1784, the name was shortened and corrected to "The New York Gazetteer," published every Tuesday and Friday, and beginning a new system of numeration, Vol. 1, Number 1. The amenities of journalism, as observed in olden times, are shown by this paragraph in the "New York Gazetteer," of January 31, 1786:

The printer having yesterday made a *discovery* of the grossest *perfidy* in the conduct of SAMUEL LOUDON will give the details of the whole affair in Friday's Paper.—his character is well formed in the following lines:

*To Good and EVIL equal bent,
He's both a DEVIL and a SAINT.*

He withdrew from this paper with the issue for December 11, 1786. The next number, 72, December 14, 1786, appeared as the "New York Gazetteer & Daily Evening Post."

Shepard Kollock was born at Lewes, Delaware, 1751, and probably learned his trade with James Adams at Wilmington. He did some excellent work as a printer, especially considering the conditions in which he was placed. Fifteen issues of his press at Chatham are known, and one at New Brunswick, while his Eliza-

bethtown press turned out at least fifty different works. Mr. Kollock retired from the printing business September 1, 1818, enjoying a pleasant *otium cum dignitate* for nearly twenty-one years longer. He was Postmaster at Elizabethtown, 1820-1829, and Judge of the Common Pleas of Essex County for thirty-five years, "closing a long and useful life in Christian hope, July 22, 1839, aged eighty-eight years."

LATER NEW BRUNSWICK NEWSPAPERS.

The removal of Kollock to Elizabethtown left the field open at New Brunswick, an opportunity speedily availed of by Shelly Arnett, who launched "The Brunswick Gazette, and Weekly Monitor," October 5, 1786. It had four pages, three wide columns to the page. The issue for Tuesday, July 26, 1787, has below the imprint the motto: "The Liberty of the Press is essential to the security of Freedom in a State; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth, —Massachusetts Bill of Rights." Numb. 188, Tuesday, May 4, 1790, has the name of Abraham Blauvelt as publisher, who remained as such until October 30, 1792, No. 318, when the "Gazette" was discontinued, being succeeded by "The Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser," the issue for Wednesday, November 7, 1792, Vol. I, No. I, bearing the imprint of Arnett & Blauvelt. But the partnership was of brief duration, Blauvelt resuming the entire control, in the fall of 1793, which he retained for twenty years or more.

Arnett, probably in a huff at the dissolution of the partnership, at once started a new paper, which he called "Arnett's New-Jersey Federalist," the first number of which appeared directly after he broke with Blauvelt, or about November 5, 1793. Numb. 71, Vol. II, Thursday, March 12, 1795, appears with the altered name, "The New-Jersey Federalist," printed by George F. Hopkins. It was a neat-appearing paper of four pages, with four columns to the page. After the manner of printers in those days, Hopkins again changed the

title, and Number 86, Monday, June 22, 1795, is pretentiously styled "Genius of Liberty, & New-Brunswick Advertiser." But alas! the "Genius of Liberty" did not long preside over the fortunes of Mr. Hopkins in New Brunswick, which town he soon abandoned for the broader field offered by the City of New York, becoming associated with Noah Webster and others in the management of "The American Minerva," etc., started December 9, 1793, but which now appeared, May 2, 1796, as "The Minerva and Mercantile Evening Advertiser," by Hopkins, Webb & Co., who were succeeded by Hopkins & Co., May 15, 1797. On October 1, 1797, George F. Hopkins became sole publisher, and the paper appeared as the "Commercial Advertiser," and was continued by Mr. Hopkins until July 29, 1799, when he was succeeded by E. Belden & Co., publishers. In New York he printed many controversial pamphlets, called forth by the bitter political contests of the day. The edition of "The Federalist," published by him in 1802, in two volumes, is understood to have had the advantage of Hamilton's revision of those matchless essays. Early in the nineteenth century he engaged also in the paper manufacture, having a paper mill in northern New Jersey, a few miles from New York.

The second effort in New Jersey in the way of a periodical was published for a few months at New Brunswick in 1786, entitled "The New-Jersey Magazine, and Monthly Advertiser," by Frederick Quequelle and James Prange. It was quite well-printed, and was a creditable attempt of the kind.

There are thirty-one issues known of the various New-Brunswick presses in the eighteenth century. Shelly Arnett did very little work alone, but his *Psalms of David*, printed in 1789, is a very dainty book and delightful to look upon. Arnett, by the way, probably left home soon after selling out to Hopkins. His father, Isaac Arnett, of Westfield township, Essex County, in his will, dated August 8, 1797, bequeathed a share of

his estate to his son, Shelly, "if he returns within ten years after my decease."

Abraham Blauvelt was a very industrious printer, doing much and good work. His principal book was an edition of the "Laws of the State of New Jersey, revised and published under the authority of the State Legislature, by William Paterson," printed in 1800, in a huge folio—title, one leaf, pp. xxii, 455, (32)—the type-page being 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ by 13 inches. Blauvelt was an educated man, graduating at Queen's (now Rutgers) College in 1789. He died at Quibbletown, near New Market, N. J., March 23, 1838, after a long and distressing illness. He "always maintained an honorable distinction with his contemporaries," says a Newark newspaper in announcing his death.

SOME LATER NEWSPAPERS OF TRENTON.

The discontinuance of the "New-Jersey Gazette" was sorely felt by many of its former clientele. To satisfy this want, and probably to enhance their chances of getting some of the public printing, a new paper was started, probably May 15, 1787, with the title "The Trenton Mercury, and the Weekly Advertiser," by Frederick C. Quequelle and George M. Wilson. The name was subsequently altered to "The Federal Post, or, the Trenton Weekly Mercury," which is the title of Numb. 13, Vol. II, Total Numb. 65, Tuesday, August 5, 1788. Its pages were at first 10 by 16 inches, but on October 3, 1788, the editors informed their subscribers that on account of the scarcity of paper, it was necessary to reduce the newspaper in size (to 9 by 15 inches), but to make up for this it would be printed twice a week, being the first semi-weekly in New Jersey. The name was now abbreviated to "The Federal Post." On October 21, the weekly publication was resumed, in larger size. The latest number known is January 27, 1788 (1789), Total Numb. 85. There are nineteen separate issues in the New Jersey State Library, and three in the Antiquarian Society.

In March, 1791, appeared the "New-Jersey State Gazette," published by George Sherman and John Mershon, who about three years later sold out to Matthias Day, the issue for Wednesday, September 17, 1794, Vol. III, No. 106, appearing under his name. The title was changed between May 31, 1796, No. 195, and July 19, 1796, No. 202, to "The State Gazette and New-Jersey Advertiser." On July 9, 1798, it was bought by Gershom Craft and William Black, who changed the name to "The Federalist: New-Jersey Gazette," starting a new series of numeration, the first issue, Vol. I, No. 1, being dated Monday evening, July 9, 1798. The next number contains the advertisement, dated July 14, 1798, that William Black had sold out to Craft, "after the first side of the paper was struck off." In the issue of Monday evening, October 8, 1798, it is announced with much satisfaction, "One thousand and eighty copies of the *Federalist*, are this week struck off, for the supply of subscribers," and we are assured by the printer that "interest did not prompt him to the present undertaking, but a desire of being useful to his fellow citizens." The "Federalist" was continued until June 23, 1800, the last issue under that title being No. 103.

In the meantime, George Sherman, John Mershon and I. Thomas started a new paper entitled "New-Jersey State Gazette," the earliest known issue being No. 6, Vol. I, Tuesday, April 9, 1799, from which it is to be inferred that the first number appeared March 5, 1799. It was announced in the prospectus that the paper was printed at the former office of Matthias Day, who before this had removed to Newark. Thomas was a nephew and namesake of the famous Worcester printer.

The publishers of these two rival papers very sensibly concluded that there would be more money in the business by uniting the two offices, and accordingly on June 30, 1800, there appeared "The Federalist, and New Jersey State Gazette," the titles of the two papers being thus

cleverly merged. The prospectus informing the public of the change was signed G. Craft, G. Sherman, J. Mershon and I. Thomas, and the firm name was given in the imprint as Sherman, Mershon, Thomas and Craft. The first issue was Vol. II, No. 71. Craft withdrew from the new firm the following September, the remaining partners continuing the publication. The paper is still published, as the "Trenton Daily Gazette."

SOME LATER BURLINGTON PRINTERS.

It was twelve years after Collins left Burlington, before another printer ventured into that field, the proximity of Philadelphia discouraging such attempts. Isaac Neale and Daniel Lawrence, two enterprising young men from Philadelphia, began the publication of "The Burlington Advertiser, or Agricultural and Political Intelligencer," Vol. I, Numb. 1, Tuesday, April 13, 1790. This was a really handsome newspaper of four pages, three wide columns to the page, well-printed, on good paper, with new type. Lawrence withdrew from the firm July 7, 1791, and the paper was continued thereafter by Neale alone. He held bravely on five months longer, but in his issue of December 6, while returning "his sincere thanks to those gentlemen who have contributed to the support of the paper since its commencement," he announces that he "is sorry to inform them, that on account of the small number of subscribers, he finds himself under the necessity of declining the publication thereof at least for a few months, when, if he should meet with sufficient encouragement, it will be re-commenced on an improved plan." Accordingly, he "declined the publication" with Vol. II, Numb. LXXXVIII, Tuesday, Dec. 13, 1791. Of course, he did not "meet with sufficient encouragement" to resume the publication. Neale remained in Burlington four years longer, doing a variety of printing, and doing it very neatly. In 1794 and 1795, H. Kammerer, jun., was associated with him in the business. Altogether, he has thirty-three items cred-

ited to his press. He was succeeded in 1796 by Elderkin & Miller.

Stephen C. Ustick was printing at Philadelphia in 1796 or earlier. In 1799 we find him at Mount Holly, near Burlington. He was a Baptist, and seems to have made a specialty of publishing sermons, and the like, of prominent Baptists of the day. Later he printed at Burlington.

THE FIRST PRINTING AT NEWARK.

Although Newark was quite an important town in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and on the direct route of travel between Philadelphia and New York, it was not until 1791 that a newspaper was established there. This was "Woods's Newark Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser," printed by John Woods, a pronounced Federalist. No. 5 is dated June 16, 1791, implying that the paper first appeared May 19, 1791. In October, 1793, the importance of the newly established town of Paterson was recognized by a change of title in the paper to "Woods's Newark Gazette, and Paterson Advertiser." In November, 1797, Woods sold out, and the title was again altered to "Newark Gazette, and New Jersey Advertiser," a new numeration beginning with the issue for November 8 of that year. He continued to publish the paper for two or three weeks, when John H. Williams succeeded him and printed the "Gazette" for the "proprietors." Woods removed to New York, and did a little printing up the Hudson River. He returned to New Jersey about 1800, and in that year had a printing office at Elizabethtown, where he appears to have published another newspaper for a time; but he advertises in the "New Jersey Journal," of Elizabethtown, under date of March 5, 1804, that "being about to remove out of this State," he again requests "that all those who are in arrears for subscriptions to the *Federal Republican*, Advertising, Handbills, &c., would call and discharge the same previous to the 20th inst.," since he has been at much expense "since

the discontinuance of his paper." "The Newark Gazette" was sold out about 1800 to John Wallis, who continued the publication until the last Tuesday in December, 1804, when it ceased to exist.

The "Gazette" remained without a rival for more than five years, for it was not until October 5, 1796, that the "Centinel of Freedom" was started by Daniel Dodge & Co. What was quite unusual in those days, was the fact that Daniel Dodge was announced as printer, and Aaron Pennington as the editor. On October 4, 1797, the names of Aaron Pennington and Daniel Dodge appeared under the title as "publishers." Two years later Jabez Parkhurst and Samuel Pennington (brother of one of the former proprietors) became the owners; Parkhurst in turn sold out, January 1, 1800, to Stephen Gould, who withdrew from the firm in May, 1803, and Pennington retired in November of the same year, the paper then passing into the hands of William Tuttle and John Pike. The paper is still published, and is warmly welcomed in thousands of firesides in northern New Jersey.

The competition of the "Centinel of Freedom" was keenly felt and bitterly resented by Woods of the "Newark Gazette." In his issue of Wednesday, May 24, 1797, he genially refers to the publishers, Dodge and Pennington, as "paltroons," whom he held in "sovereign contempt—should they continue their unprovoked attacks against me, I shall take the liberty of teaching them decency in a more summary way—the sense of Feeling as well as of seeing and hearing may be effected." In his paper of August 2, 1797, "he disdains to reply" to a communication published the previous week "in that far famed Vehicle of Slander 'the Centinel of Freedom.'" Curiously enough, in the "Gazette" of August 9, 1797, he inserts a communication from Aaron Pennington, of the "Centinel," who seems to have had no sense of humor, taking exception to the characterization of that paper as a "far famed vehicle of scandal," (*sic*) and concluding with this bold challenge: "I there-

fore require you to appoint the time and place, when and where you will meet me personally, and support your assertion, or afford me that satisfaction which your conduct entitles me to."

Woods's retirement from the "Gazette" three months later, was doubtless hastened by this altercation.

Newark was also the scene of two unsuccessful ventures in the way of periodicals.

One was entitled "United States Magazine, or, General Repository of Useful Instruction and Rational Amusement," Volume I, Number 1, being issued April, 1794, with the imprint "Newark, New-Jersey: printed by John Woods for the editor." Each number contained sixty-four pages. The August number had but twenty-four pages, when the Magazine was discontinued.

The "Rural Magazine" made its appearance Saturday, February 17, 1798, being "printed by John H. Williams for the proprietors." It was a fair-sized quarto of four pages, three columns to the page, quite varied in its contents. Upon the completion of the volume, number 52, Saturday, February 9, 1799, this publication was discontinued, the proprietors say, for "the want of sufficient subscription, and literary assistance, two essentials to the support of all similar publications."

FRENEAU'S "JERSEY CHRONICLE."

Philip Freneau, "the poet of the Revolution," and a political writer of much force, was a native of New Jersey, and in 1795 resided on his ancestral farm of two hundred acres, near Freehold, Monmouth County, where he had a small press. Here he issued "The Jersey Chronicle," the first number of which made its bow to the world on Saturday, May 2, 1795. It was, as might be expected from the editor, strongly literary in its inclinations. It was paged consecutively, like a magazine. It was poorly printed, being quite amateurish in its appearance. Notwithstanding the evident feebleness of its existence, it managed to continue until number fifty-two, Vol. I, April 30, 1796, page 428. The first

two numbers were but $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, which was afterwards increased to 8 by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

SOME MORRIS COUNTY PRINTERS.

Caleb Russell was a lawyer and school master. He was one of the founders of the Morris Academy in 1791, was elected President of the Board of Directors, contracted to erect the building, and was the principal instructor for nearly five years. On retiring from its management, he evidently thought he had more time on his hands than he knew what to do with, and that he could most successfully withstand the importuning of his Satanic Majesty, by starting a newspaper. He accordingly bought a printing office, and employed Elisha Cooper, a practical printer, to attend to its details. On Wednesday, May 24, 1793, the "Morris County Gazette" was issued by E. Cooper & Co. It bore for its motto Franklin's words, "Where Liberty dwells, there is my country." "Woods's Newark Gazette, and New Jersey Advertiser" for May 31, 1797, gave the new venture this freezing send-off:

We felicitate the citizens of Morris county on the advantages that may result to them from the establishment of a Printing Press in their metropolis—the first number of the *Morris County Gazette*, printed by E. Cooper & Co., made its appearance last Wednesday—the Editors appear much *flattered & animated by the liberal patronage they have received*—we wish them success, but trust that the "second part" will not appear quite so *animating*.

Those who subscribe for the sake of "patronizing" a publication of this kind will be gratified—but those who subscribe for the purpose of receiving the *earliest news*, will be, probably, disappointed, as it can be calculated much earlier through that county from this situation, than it can from one more interior.

Cooper withdrew from the enterprise in November, and Mr. Russell continued sole editor and manager of the paper. Early in the following year, he invited Jacob Mann to come to Morristown and take charge of the office, which he did. Mann had learned the

printing business with Shepard Kollock in Elizabethtown. "The Gazette" was continued until May 15, 1798, thus completing one year of publication. It was a fairly well-printed paper, of four pages, with four columns to the page.

Mann changed the name to "The Genius of Liberty," beginning a new numeration, Vol. I, No. 1, May 24, 1798. The imprint directly under the heading reads: "Morristown: printed and published by Jacob Mann, nearly opposite the Academy." The appearance of the paper was improved under his management. He continued the paper for three years, or until May 14, 1801, when he retired and went to Trenton, where he established the "Trenton True American," in company with James J. Wilson. Mr. Russell then turned over the printing office at Morristown to his son, Henry P. Russell, who continued the press and newspaper for several years on his own account. The most notable issue of the Morristown press, in the eighteenth century, was an edition of Vicesimus Knox's "Spirit of Despotism," in a neat 12 mo. volume. Jacob Mann (who had returned to Morristown) and ——— Douglass published, in 1805, a very creditable octavo edition of the Bible, which has been sometimes called the "Arminian Testament" because of the reading of Hebrews vi, 4-6: "For it is possible," etc.

SOME LOST AND FORGOTTEN NEWSPAPERS.

I have sketched for you the outline history of some of the best known early printers and newspapers of New Jersey. From the experience of your Society in gathering its incomparable mass of newspaper files, you can guess some of the difficulties encountered in acquiring the information presented to you in this paper.

Of all the newspapers mentioned, complete files have rarely been preserved. There are several sets of the first, "The New-Jersey Gazette," issued by Collins in 1777-86. His office file, bound in three volumes, he presented to the New York Historical Society in 1815.

The New Jersey Historical Society, the Princeton University Library, and the New York Public Library (Lenox Collection) also have complete files, there thus being four in all.

An approximately complete file could be made up from the scattered numbers of the "New-Jersey Journal," published by Shepard Kollock at Chatham, and afterwards at Elizabethtown. The best file extant is in the hands of a private collector in New York. The Antiquarian Society has a long series of numbers.

A former resident of Newark, on removing to Connecticut, carried with him a nearly perfect file of the early volumes of the "Centinel of Freedom," published at Newark, from 1796. This file he kept, and with praiseworthy industry continued the series until 1852, when he presented the whole collection to the New Jersey Historical Society.

There is nothing like an approximately complete collection of the early New Brunswick newspapers known.

Nor is there a full file of the "Newark Gazette," although a few years ago I acquired from a stranger in North Carolina, a bound volume which had formerly contained fifty or sixty numbers, but from which about twenty-five had been torn out as needed for domestic purposes.

There is a perfect file of Freneau's "Jersey Chronicle," lacking No. 27, but including several supplements, in the New York Historical Society, and the Morristown Library has very appropriately acquired a complete file of the "Morris County Gazette."

But what has become of the remaining issues of these several papers?

And what shall we say of the other newspapers, whose existence in some cases is merely a matter of tradition, and in other instances but little more?

The first "newspaper" in New Jersey was not printed at all, but was, like the early English News-Letters, actually written, the original being "left at Matthew Potter's bar," at Bridgeton, where it might be copied

in whole or in part by those interested in it. It was written on a sheet of letter paper, about six and a half by eight and a half inches in size. Eight numbers of this unique paper have been preserved, extending from December 25, 1775, to February 12, 1776, the topics treated of ranging over such extremes as Bundling and Patriotism. I had the pleasure of reproducing in print this first New Jersey newspaper, in an edition of one hundred copies (privately printed, 1894), one of which is now in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

Do you recollect that peculiar attempt of Hugh Gainé to ride two horses in opposite directions during the Revolution? At a time when Providence seemed to be smiling upon the patriot cause, the politic printer issued a copy of "The New York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury," Saturday, September 21, 1776, No. 1301, with the imprint: "Printed by Hugh Gainé, at Newark, in East New-Jersey." It is practically a broadside, being a folio of only one page. This paper was continued until November 2, 1776, the respective numbers being 1302, Saturday, September 28; 1303, Saturday, Oct. 5; 1304, Saturday, Oct. 12; 1305, Saturday, Oct. 19; 1306, Saturday, Oct. 26; 1307, Saturday, November 2, all the issues after 1301 being printed on a quarto leaf, two pages. At the same time, the paper continued to be issued at New York with the same series of numeration, but on different days and dates, Number 1301, Monday, Sept. 30, 1776, a folio of one page; numbers 1302, 1303, 1304 and 1305 were respectively dated Monday, Oct. 7, 14, 21 and 28, and consisted of a folio sheet of two pages. All the numbers for October, printed at New York, omitted the name of Hugh Gainé as printer. The Newark paper used expressions favorable to the American cause, and referring to the British ships, for instance, as "the piratical fleet." As Providence began smiling on the British cause, toward the end of October, Gainé appears to have thought it was no longer worth while to cater to the patriotic taste, and he resumed the publication of the "Mercury" at

his old office in New York. There is some mystery about this transaction. Did he actually, as stated by Ford, "remove part of his presses and types to Newark early in September?" Of course it is quite possible. Did he have two sets of the engraved heading, one for Newark and one for New York, or did he merely print this Newark edition in New York for circulation in New Jersey? A file of the Newark issue is preserved in the New York Public Library (Lenox Collection). Proceedings were taken in 1778 by the commissioners of forfeited estates for Essex County and for Morris County, New Jersey, against Hugh Gainé for the confiscation of his property in those counties on the ground that he had violated the law by becoming a "fugitive and offender with the enemy, against his country."

Joseph Lewis, of Morristown, made this entry in his diary, under date of Wednesday, June 30, 1784: "Cloudy & a small shower.—This day David Cree printed the first newspaper that was ever printed in Morristown." The most diligent search has failed to bring to light a copy of this newspaper, or to reveal its title. Moreover, the name of David Cree is utterly unknown in local annals. But in the "New York Gazetteer" of March 17, 1786, appears this advertisement: "To be sold on Wednesday, the fifth of April, at Springfield, New Jersey, Sundry Printing Materials, Formerly belonging to David Cree, distressed for Rent." Springfield is scarcely ten miles from Morristown. It is quite possible that Cree had rashly started a newspaper at the latter place, on the day mentioned in Lewis's diary, but it was so ephemeral that its very name has been forgotten. When he abandoned his printing materials, to be sold for arrears of rent, he journeyed to Philadelphia, where we find him a few months later in a company of Journeymen Printers of that city combining to resist a threatened reduction of their wages to thirty-five shillings per week, and pledging themselves not to "engage to work at any Printing Office in the city or country under the sum of six dollars per week"

—a very early (and modest) forerunner of the vastly expanded demands of the typographical unions of to-day.

In 1786, James Tod had a printing office at Princeton, the production of which seems to have been extremely limited. However, in May of that year, he ventured upon the publication of a newspaper, which he continued for two years or more. There is extant a copy of "The Princeton Packet, and the General Advertiser," Thursday, June 28, 1787, Vol. II, No. 51. Very appropriately, an imposing cut of Nassau Hall appears in the title. It was a fairly well printed paper of four pages, three wide columns to the page. But four copies are known to have survived, all within the State. Where are the others?

Under date of February 15, 1791, Philip Freneau issued the prospectus of a newspaper to be called "The Monmouth Gazette," to be published weekly, at "Mount Pleasant, near Middletown Point, in East New-Jersey." I have the only known copy of this prospectus. But was "The Gazette" ever issued, and if so for how long? I do not know. I have never seen nor heard of the paper. I do not think it came to light. It was doubtless one of the unborn conceptions of the poet's brain.

In 1795 there was established at Bridgeton, in Cumberland County, a paper styled the "Argus; and New-Jersey Centinel," the imprint stating that it was "published (weekly) by M'Kenzie and Westcott, Bridge Town." The earliest number known is of the date Thursday, November 5, 1795, being No. 8, from which it is estimated that the paper was ushered into existence September 30, 1795. The publishers were Alexander M'Kenzie, a general merchant of the town, and James D. Westcott, who was an educated man, interested in public affairs, and subsequently Secretary of State of New Jersey. But this was many years after the "Argus" had ceased to keep its hundred eyes on the affairs of the big nation. Number 53 announces that the partnership had been dissolved October 1, 1796,

and that the publication would be carried on by Alexander M'Kenzie alone. It is said that a year later the paper passed into the hands of John Westcott, a brother of one of the original publishers, who gave it a new name, which, however, is unknown at this date. It is said also that he continued the publication until 1805. The most diligent and persistent investigation has failed to discover a single copy of this forgotten newspaper within New Jersey, and indeed the only issues known to me are six in the Library of Harvard University.

On January 8, 1796, there was published at Newton, in Sussex county, "The Farmer's Journal, and Newton Advertiser," by Eliot Hopkins and William Hurtin, under the firm name of Eliot Hopkins and Co. But one copy of this paper is known to exist in New Jersey, being the issue for September 15, 1797, Vol. II., Number 86. What has become of all the other numbers? Some years ago I caused to be published in a leading Sussex county paper the emphatic statement that but *one copy* of this paper was in existence, and I challenged the production of any other. I hoped for a loud chorus of indignant protests and triumphant holdings forth of numerous copies of the "Journal." But alas! not a single resident of New Jersey came forward to disprove the accuracy of that statement. I did, however, receive from a man out in Wyoming a fragment of the paper in question, which he had derived from his ancestors, and had carried out to the Rocky Mountains among his cherished lares and penates! The Library of Harvard University has something like twenty-four numbers of this forgotten newspaper, the latest bearing date October 17, 1798, Vol. III., Whole No. 140, the publishers being E. Hopkins and P. Smith.

More than forty years ago I talked with an old gentleman who had been editor and printer of a newspaper established in my town in 1825. He said he had heard that after a certain newspaper had been burned out in Paterson in 1824, there had arisen from the flames, as it were, a new paper called the "Phoenix," but he

had never seen a copy of it. I was always on the lookout for this paper, or for notices of its publication. I found a paragraph in a contemporary newspaper referring to it, but in such doubtful terms as to make it uncertain whether that was really the title, or simply a sobriquet humorously applied to another paper. About ten years since I was informed by a friend that he had come into the possession of an accumulation of something like four thousand miscellaneous newspapers which had been gathered for many years by a gentleman of Morristown, who had then recently died. I found that my friend was planning to go carefully through this vast store, with a view to sorting out and arranging the several newspapers therein. I told him the legend about the "Phoenix," and asked him laughingly that if by any chance he should come across a copy of it he would lay it aside for me. He cheerfully promised. A year or so after, to my great surprise, he triumphantly produced *one copy* of the "Phoenix," the only copy which he had found in the pile. But alas! this treasure-trove, so unexpectedly rescued from oblivion, after seventy-five years, was irretrievably lost in the Paterson fire of 1902.

What has become of all these forgotten newspapers? In the light of past experiences, which have brought forth so many supposedly forgotten treasures, we cannot but hope that some day, somewhere, perhaps in a secluded corner of some ancient garret, there will be found a whole file of one or more of these newspapers, bringing untold delight to the soul of the antiquarian and the historian.

PRINTERS' TROUBLES IN THE OLDEN DAYS.

The earlier printers had some experiences which were to them vexatious, but to us seem only amusing. In many instances, also, they recall to us, as of yesterday, incidents in historical events long past.

There was no issue of the "New York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy," for August 15, 1757. The following week the customers were asked to excuse the

omission, "seeing that the then particular Emergency called the Printers off as it did likewise Thousands of others belonging to the Province in the service of their King and Country." "The particular Emergency" referred to was the investiture of Fort William Henry by the French and Indians. The delay in issuing the "Gazette" for March 11, 1762, was because the Boston and Hartford Post-rider "was so hindered by the Snow, which in some places was prodigiously deep, especially between Springfield and Hartford, that he did not arrive till Sunday Night. However, he brought the Boston papers a week later than the other Post that came in the Night before." These post-riders from New York to Hartford were "supported by the printers of the Gazette at a great Expence." In the "Gazette" for October 17, 1759, persons indebted to the printer were "earnestly requested immediately to discharge their Accounts, as the Printer is under the greatest difficulties and Distress for Money, not only to carry on his Business, but to pay his just Debts." Another trouble was that "notwithstanding the utmost Endeavours of the Printer, his Boys frequently forgot to carry his Customers their Papers"—an experience which has probably befallen many of my hearers in their younger days in smaller towns than New York.

The early printers had great difficulties in securing paper. When Isaac Collins began the publication of "The New-Jersey Gazette," he found this to be an immediate and most pressing need. In his paper for Wednesday, December 24, 1777, it was announced that "A good price and ready money is given by the Printer hereof, for clean linen rags, and hogs bristle," and this advertisement was repeatedly published, while the "good women" of the State were continually urged to preserve their rags for the paper mill. In the issue for Thursday, April 23, 1778, it was stated that "No more subscriptions can be received at present for this Gazette for want of paper." A frequent embarrassment was the non-arrival of the posts from the Eastward or South,

due to the inclemency of the weather, or the ravages of the enemy in capturing the mails. The issue of June 24 is dated July 1 on the inside, which is thus explained: "The other side of this paper having been printed off last week, previous to the alarm, and thereby prevented from being completed, sufficiently accounts for the date in the title page." To eke out his scanty income, Collins engaged in trade of various kinds. "A few chests of tea, warranted the first quality for Bohea, to be sold very cheap for cash"; "A quantity of capital medicines to be sold cheap for cash at the Printing-Office in Trenton"; "To be sold, A negro Boy nine years old, slim built but very active." In the latter part of 1780, he began advertising books for sale, the lists throwing quite a light on the popular taste of the day. He continued from time to time to advertise general merchandise, books and stationery, negro wenches, tea, butter, cheese, "chariots," saddles, and a variety of other goods and wares. One of his troubles was the need of apprentices and of printers, for whom he was continually advertising. This advertisement was renewed from time to time: "Wanted, by the Printer hereof, two Journeymen. They will be exempted from actual service in the militia, and receive handsome wages." But his greatest trouble was to collect the subscriptions for his paper. In his issue for April 7, 1779, it was announced that "advertisements of a moderate length inserted for three dollars each the first week, and one dollar for every continuation," but so rapidly did the paper currency depreciate that only two weeks later the price was raised to "four dollars the first week, and two dollars weekly thereafter." Subscriptions were payable in produce, wheat at 7s. 6d., rye at 4s. 6d., butter at 1s., etc. Even these terms did not result in the replenishing of his exchequer, and he was so completely discouraged that he issued no "Gazette" for the first three weeks in July, 1779. On July 28, 1779, the terms for the paper were stated to be "five dollars per quarter in cash at the beginning of

each quarter, the price to be raised or lowered according to the price of the necessities of life." The following February, the price was raised to thirteen dollars per quarter, payable in produce, and in April to fifteen dollars, payable in cash, while in July it was put upon an entirely different basis, "one-third of a dollar in produce or half a dollar in gold or silver."

Shepard Kollock had like experiences at Chatham. He was constantly prodding his subscribers to pay up, offering to take in payment anything from firewood to needles, and fresh country produce of every description. He also carried on a general country store at Chatham, selling tea and negro boys and wenches, Bibles and rum, calicos and hoes, "chocolat" and turnips. He made frequent appeals for apprentices "to learn the beautiful and genteel business of printing." An unusual qualification was mentioned as desirable in the "Journal" of January 9, 1788: "A lad of about 14 years old, of good morals and of a moderate education, (but if acquainted with the dead languages, the more agreeable) is wanted by the printer hereof as an apprentice." Sometimes the paper on which the "Journal" was printed would be of a deep blue tint, and frequently it would vary in size. "Owing to a disappointment in procuring the Paper of the common size for our news this week, we are under the necessity of using a small sheet as a substitute," says the "Journal" of December 24, 1799. We are reminded of the warlike situation in which Kollock was placed, by this paragraph: "June 28, 1780. The printing office having been removed in the late alarm was the reason this paper was not published last week." There did not seem to be much eagerness to fill the demand for apprentices, and in March, 1780, the printer advertised: "Wanted, by the Printer hereof, a Journeyman that can work at case and press, to whom the greatest encouragement will be given." The "Journal" of June 6, 1781, accounted for the lack of news thus: "We have received no Eastern papers this week, the post having been taken

between Fishkill and Morristown, and carried to New-York." In his issue for November 8, 1786, in the dearth of news he proposes to publish that fascinating work, "Carver's Travels through the interior parts of this Continent," as a serial. *Per contra*, while Jay's Treaty was under discussion the "Journal" felt "obliged to omit several advertisements as well as foreign and domestic occurrences to give place to the debates in Congress"!

During the first few weeks of 1788, there began some friction between the newspapers and the post office department. "The New-Jersey Journal" of March 5, 1788, has this significant paragraph, with the accompanying dark hint: "For some weeks past, we have scarcely received a paper from our numerous correspondents in the different states. The motive for this suppression of intelligence is best known to the post-master general! It has an oblique aspect of sinister views. It is a disgrace to this enlightened age, and a harbinger of slavery, that when the press, under the most arbitrary governments, is daily growing more and more free, that the post-masters, or their jackalls, should essay to stop all communication between the states at this important crisis, by prohibiting that exchange of papers printers have enjoyed since the first establishment of a post-office in this continent." The newspapers contemplated a remedy for this difficulty by establishing "Mail Coaches, for the Carriage of Letters, on moderate terms and for maintaining a due Intercourse between the Publishers of News-papers in the United States, *pro Bono Publico*." In the "Journal" for February 17, 1790, it was stated that the post-master general proposed this plan for relieving the deficit in the department: "News-papers which have hitherto passed free of postage circulating extensively through the Post-Offices; one or two cents upon each, would probably amount to as much as the expense of transporting the mails." The "Journal" denounced this proposition as having "an obvious tendency to shackle the press,

check the circulation of newspapers and degrade the freemen of this country."

"The Journal" of December 24, 1799, contained this startling intelligence: "Washington, the Friend, the Protector, of his Country, is no more!!! Washington, the Great, the Good, Defunct!"

The appearance of a weekly paper with a "ghost" for the fourth page was accounted for by an "unavoidable accident which there was not time to remedy before the day of printing." A frequent complaint was: "We were hindered in getting out our paper this week because our printer left us last Monday without any explanation." Freneau slipped over one week without issuing his "Jersey Chronicle," with the simple explanation the following week, that it was "on account of sickness." You can imagine the righteous indignation of the publisher who penned this paragraph: "Last Tuesday night, some dastardly villain entered our office and so severely beat our printer that he was unable to work as usual in getting out the paper this week."

But on the whole it must be admitted that the printers of the eighteenth century, with their limited resources, displayed quite as much energy and enterprise in overcoming the obstacles of those days, as do the gigantic printing establishments of the present time, with all their mighty facilities, in meeting fires, earthquakes, dynamite explosions and the like, peculiar to our own times.

WHENCE CAME THE YOUNG PRINTERS?

The printer's art is one of the most conservative of all arts. Many of its customs and technical terms are survivals from mediæval days. You know that in Germany, until recent years, and perhaps even now in the rural districts, it was always the custom when a young man had finished his apprenticeship, for him to start off with the implements of his trade on his back and try to make a living at his vocation away from home for at least a year. This was called his "*Wanderjahr*."

This particular custom seems to have persisted most thoroughly among printers from earliest times. The "traveling jour." has been a recognized feature of the printer's craft. The average journeyman printer is a traveled man, besides being a well-read man. These young printers, having mastered the art and mysteries of their craft, and being inspired with a fond zest of novelty to be enjoyed in their "*Wanderjahr*," were, moreover, often possessed of an ambition to better their condition in life. No intelligent, self-respecting journeyman printer but fancied that he knew all the faults and mistakes of his employer, and how and where those errors could be avoided. Accordingly, we find many of these young fellows making their way to the remoter towns and Provinces of the country, canvassing for subscriptions for a newspaper, probably borrowing the money to set up a plant, perhaps buying an outfit on credit, and in time establishing themselves in a printing office of their own, there to remain until prosperity should reward their efforts, or until the irresistible *Wanderlust* coursed quickly through their veins, and induced them to abandon or sell out their enterprise and start for unconquered fields. This was the history of the origin of many an early newspaper in America. It was the experience of many in New Jersey villages and towns.

Naturally, New York and Philadelphia furnished most of these young printers of New Jersey, many of them being graduates from the offices of Franklin and Parker. Several of them were from Massachusetts, and in fact, as mentioned above, we find the name of I. Thomas as one of the publishers of a Trenton newspaper in 1799.

Who can help admiring the splendid optimism and courage of those young fellows in venturing to set up newspapers with Hope as almost their only capital! Their very immaturity and inexperience led them often to indulge in views calculated to break down the old traditions—social, economic and political—of their time.

They were profit-seeking, yes; usually their first object in life was to make a living. But with the vision of youth they saw far ahead, and advocated opinions that blazed the way for many a change in the body politic. They contributed to the unification of the country. Franklin, Parker and Thomas bred up scores of young printers to their ideas, not only of their trade, but of their political beliefs as well. Their apprentices were taught the value of the freedom of the press. This led to the idea of the freedom of the people. These young men came in contact with the ablest, the most intelligent men in the country. They learned from them. They helped spread their views. So they became a power in the land. They were the pioneers who laid the foundations, broad and deep, for that mighty structure which in England has been termed the Fourth Estate, and which in this country has aspired to be the Voice of Public Opinion. Surely, the present generation is largely indebted to these gallant young printers of the eighteenth century. It is but a small return for their efforts thus to rescue their names and their history from oblivion, which has been one of the aims of this paper, and is a special function of the American Antiquarian Society.

THE SHAYS REBELLION A POLITICAL AFTERMATH.

BY ANDREW MACFARLAND DAVIS.

At the October meeting of this Society in 1902, Mr. John Noble read a paper entitled "A few notes on the Shays rebellion." Mr. Charles Francis Adams, who was present, expressed the hope that a special research might be made as to the causes of the then existing discontent.¹ At the May meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1905² Mr. Adams, in commenting on a publication entitled "Some features of Shays's rebellion" by Jonathan Smith of Clinton, Massachusetts, said that in the written accounts of the rebellion, "no attempt has been made to go below the surface, and show what were the causes of the great unrest which then prevailed." In selecting my subject for this paper, I had in mind the suggestions of Mr. Adams, but it will be seen by my title, that I have not undertaken to cover exactly the field to which he referred. There seems to me to be abundant explanation for the discontent of the populace at that time, in the fact that a large part of the community was forced to resort to barter through lack of a circulating medium. Add to that the necessarily burdensome nature of the war taxes, and you have a condition of affairs which could not have been patiently borne by any but a saintly or a very intelligent community. My thesis is not therefore to show why there was unrest, but why there was violence.

¹Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, New Series, Vol. XV, p. 120, p. 200.

²Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. XIX, p. 276.

The sentiments which led to the uprising of a formidable band of citizens in western Massachusetts in the latter part of 1786 were shared by a large number of the residents in the eastern part of the state. Lists of grievances were adopted in town and county conventions. Most, if not all, of these have been preserved and are to be found in the histories of towns scattered throughout the state.

The people of Boston did not sympathize with this movement, and when solicitations were received to send delegates to a convention of the towns of Suffolk County to be held for the consideration of alleged grievances, a letter of reply was adopted by the town, on the 15th of March, 1784³, in which it was stated that, "after a fair debate, it was unanimously determined to express the sorrow of the town, that, at a time when we have a constitution of our own choosing, and which has been approved by the world, there should yet remain any uneasy persons in the community, who could form the fruitless design of disturbing the tranquility of the state by proposing the unnecessary measure of meeting by counties."

An analysis of the proceedings at these conventions and meetings will show that the farther west one goes, and the greater the distance from the centre of trade of the state, the more violent the agitation and the bolder the attitude of the remonstrants. In Suffolk there was but little sympathy, Boston, as we have seen, taking strong grounds against the movement. Essex and Middlesex were but partially aroused, and were apparently to a certain extent dependent upon co-operation from further west. Worcester was much more positive and in some of the towns was even aggressive. The river counties and Berkshire were as a rule violent and outspoken. In the resolutions adopted by a number of these conventions it was expressly stipulated that the relief sought for was to be obtained only in a legal

³31st Report Boston Record Commissioners, p. 13.

and constitutional manner, but it must be remembered that the turbulent disposition of some of the more violent among the people had already demonstrated that there was a tendency to interfere with the administration of justice,⁴ and it was clear that this approval by deliberative bodies of the doctrines advocated simultaneously by themselves and by men ready to disturb the peace would inevitably encourage outbreaks.

It is plain, for instance, that an apparently innocent vote recommending people "to abstain from all mobs and unlawful assemblies until a constitutional method of redress can be obtained,"⁵ was not without its lurking threat. In the demand of one of the towns that the inferior courts and lawyers should be "entirely annihilated,"⁶ there was no effort to conceal the menace involved therein. It may perhaps be said that the courts could have been "entirely annihilated" by constitutional means, but how about the lawyers? Intemperate language was a feature of the situation.

Responsibility for the outbreak must be shared by many who never contemplated personal participation, and who did not perhaps realize what influence upon others their actions might have. The chaotic condition of the financial affairs of the new state compared unfavorably with the situation during the latter days of the province. If to that it be added that some of the more glaring defects of an aristocratic government had not been supplanted under the new organization, it will readily be comprehended that a skilfully devised contemporary newspaper communication calling attention to these facts might—indeed must—have acted to stir up flames of indignation which needed no fanning. If, as has been hinted, the participants in the conventions who had no intention to join personally in any outbreak were to be held responsible for stimulating violence, so too must the newspaper writer accept responsibility

⁴ Minot's History of the Insurrection, p. 25.

⁵ Hampshire Convention. Minot's History of the Insurrection, p. 36.

⁶ History of the town of Gardner by Wm. D. Herrick, p. 78.

for the possible effects of his publications. In the following communication to the "Spy" of April 14, 1784, the harmonious acquiescence in the nepotism which the writer describes evidently concealed an ulterior purpose:

"Before the revolution," says the writer, "Mr. Hutchinson was Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Oliver was Secretary of the Province, Peter Oliver and Foster Hutchinson Esqrs. were Judges of the Superior Court. The people were alarmed at that accumulation of power in one family and connection. They very justly considered it a source of corrupt influence dangerous to publick liberty; and accordingly exerted every effort in their power to dissolve the combination, but unhappily their means were not adequate to their security. Since the revolution, the offices of Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Justice of the Peace for the County of Suffolk, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, Clerk of that Court by a brother of the Chief Justice, and another of the Judges, Judge of the Maritime Court, and one of the Council of the Commonwealth, and a Judge of Probate, are held by one family⁷ and connection, without any apprehension from the influence and power."

Can it be doubted that the writer of this communication meant mischief? Is it not evident that resolves to proceed by constitutional means, without mob violence, were calculated, perhaps intended, to produce the very results which were deplored?

The grievances alleged by the various conventions, town and county, were in the main concurrent, but not altogether so. They may be classified in three divisions:

1st. Those which were capable of remedy through action by the existing state government. 2nd. Those which required a constitutional amendment before any action in regard to them could be taken. 3rd. Those which involved some change in the carrying out of the agreements existing between the commonwealth and the continental congress, through which agreements the state had undertaken to do its share in the efforts then being made to support the credit of the central government.

⁷ The Cushing family.

It is obvious that rebellion was not necessary in order to secure reasonable legislation of a remedial character for the grievances included in the first of these classes. The support of so large a body of constituents, as those represented in the various conventions, carried with it the power to compel consideration. If the alleged grievances should prove to be actual and imperative, some remedy would be applied. The burden of taxation and the difficulties arising from the lack of a medium of trade with which to adjust debts with the state and with individuals were painfully evident to those who were trying to organize and regulate the affairs of the new state, as well as to those who through their poverty were more conspicuously the victims of the situation. Complaints of this sort, though well founded, were not capable of immediate relief.

Whether some of the remedies proposed were reasonable or even desirable was another matter. It is probable that satisfaction for several of the demands made by the convention could only have been obtained through actual revolution. One of the remedies proposed for the scarcity of a medium of trade was the emission of paper money. There were those who went so far as to propose an emission which should simultaneously have provision made for future depreciation. Not all of the remedial suggestions were as absurd as this, but there were several which no government could have yielded except under compulsion.

Among the propositions which would have required constitutional amendment before they could have been carried into effect were a demand for the abolition of the senate; a change of the method of representation; and the abolition of the courts of common pleas and general sessions of the peace. The claim that all salaries should be fixed annually and that all civil officers of the government should be annually elected by the representatives would also probably come under this heading.

The new constitution was not protected from assault by any particular fondness on the part of the people

for the contents of that document. The voters of the state were by no means satisfied that they had secured what they wanted in the form of government under the instrument which had been adopted. They had for a variety of reasons already rejected one constitution, the real feeling about which apparently was that the proposed government was not close enough in touch with the people, or as it was tersely put in the quaint language of one of the towns:⁸ "it entirely divests the good people of this state of many of the privileges which God and nature has given them." Another town, wishing to secure continuous control over the actions of its representative in the general court, proposed the passage of a law which should authorize the "recall" of the representative at any time, the word "recall" itself being made use of in the proposition.⁹ There were suggestions enough of the "initiative" in the actions of conventions but nothing so direct as this forestalling the modern "recall." A direct attempt at putting the "referendum" in operation was, however, made by the house in January, 1749, when they passed an order to print an act and to send a copy to the selectmen of each town in the province, in order that the opinions of the voters on the subject might be obtained at the next town-meeting. The non-concurrence of the council prevented this being carried out.¹⁰ The question whether the council and representatives should frame a new constitution was submitted to popular vote in 1778. There was opposition, but the power was conferred. The constitution prepared by the assembly was, however, rejected.

In some respects it is obvious that the framers of the constitution could not possibly have satisfied their constituents. On many of the subjects under discussion it was impossible that the average man should have had

⁸ Greenwich, Massachusetts Archives, 156 : 275, quoted by Cushing, *Transition from Province to Commonwealth*, p. 216.

⁹ Cushing's *Transition from Province to Commonwealth*, page 218, note 3, quoted from *Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, CXLI, February 4, 1779.

¹⁰ *Currency and Banking in Massachusetts Bay*, Vol. I, p. 230.

any well digested opinion. On the other hand, where opinions had obtained positive shape, those who had adopted them were obstinate in their defence and were reluctant to give them up even when they conflicted with those of others. Thus on the question of representation, a contemporary writer said that dissatisfaction on that point was one of the causes for the rejection of the first constitution, "because in the opinion of the maritime towns, representation is too unequal, while in the opinion of others it is too equal."¹¹ It was natural to reject a constitution which satisfied but few, coming from the source that it did, i. e., the council and representatives, and it was evidently impossible to secure one from any source which would be universally acceptable.

It is not surprising therefore to see that a second constitution emanating from a convention of delegates elected directly by the people to draft such an instrument could only secure reluctant adoption through the necessity for some form of settled government. Nor is it strange that the portion of the population which had no great property interests at stake should feel that a government which had been successively colonial under the first charter, autocratic under Andros, quasi-colonial under the *ad-interim* government which assumed charge of affairs after the deposition of Andros; provincial under the second charter, and which in the interval between province and state had been governed, first by a so-called provincial congress and later by a headless government modelled on the lines of the provisions made in the second charter for an executive council during the absence from the province of both governor and lieutenant governor,—it is not to be wondered at, I say, that under such circumstances as these, irresponsible people should feel that the constitutional defects which produced grievances of the second class were capable of easy remedy. Moreover, as if to accentuate

¹¹ Quoted by Cushing in *Transition from Province to Commonwealth*, p. 219.

the changeable features of the government, there had been twelve royal governors of Massachusetts Bay, and at five different intervals, in the history of the province, in consequence of the absence of these appointed rulers, the performance of their official duties had devolved upon the lieutenant-governors. Further than this, there had been four distinct periods, when in consequence of the simultaneous absence from the province of both governor and lieutenant-governor, the council had been compelled to exercise its executive function. It must also be borne in mind that the new constitution contained within itself no other provision for amendment than that which was to be found in the clause which provided for the submission to the people in 1795, of the question whether the revision of the instrument should be undertaken at that time. Amendments, prior to that date, could only be secured in some manner not provided for in the constitution itself.

So far as the third class of grievances were concerned, those connected with the application of funds raised by taxation in Massachusetts for the relief of the continental government, the proposed remedies could perhaps have been secured without using force, but it would have been at the expense of the honor of the state.

The social conditions left by the war as a legacy to the state were such as to demand of good citizens both patience and optimism. The taxes were necessarily high. The cultivation of the soil and the general production of home industries had been interfered with through scarcity of labor. The fishing fleet on which the province had depended for the West India trade had been almost annihilated. On the other hand, the diminution of the production of local industries had compelled large importations from England, with the concomitant penalty of an unusual demand for silver for remittance, at a time when the supply was abnormally low. The lack of credit on the part of the confederated states had led to the emission of the continental currency in such volume that it had become absolutely worthless,

and the means were not at command in the form of metallic currency to adjust either taxes or private debts. The finances of the country had reverted to a condition which might perhaps have been borne with patience under the circumstances which existed a century and a half before, but which must have been galling when accepted as the result of a war for relief from the oppression of an over-sea government. Lack of a circulating medium compelled barter. Isaiah Thomas advertised in the "Spy" of November 17, 1785, that he would receive in settlement of debts due him, which did not exceed 20s., Indian corn, rye, wheat, wood or flaxseed. Dr. Green quotes from a Groton diary,¹² entries showing that in 1787, wheat, corn, flaxseed, rye and peas were made use of in settlement of debts in regular course of trade. Dr. Bancroft epitomizes the condition of affairs of which these facts were significant as follows:¹³ "The revolutionary war had then closed, and paper money no longer passed as a currency; every production of the earth had greatly fallen in price, state taxes were high and creditors demanded their dues." The courts were burdened with suits for ordinary debts, by means of which creditors sought to put in more lasting form the obligations which their debtors could not at that time meet. In Worcester County alone, with a population of less than 50,000, more than 2,000 actions were entered in 1784 and during the next year 1,700 more were put on the list.¹⁴

The combination of circumstances was such as to furnish an adequate explanation for the unrest and clamor of the people. If we seek for an explanation of the more violent nature of the expression of these feelings in the western part of the state, we shall perhaps find it in the touch of the maritime counties with foreign trade. This left behind it, in the hands of the

¹² Groton Historical Series, Vol. 1, no. XIX, pp. 15, 16.

¹³ A Sermon delivered in Worcester, January 31, 1836, by Aaron Bancroft, D.D. at the termination of fifty years of his ministry, p. 19.

¹⁴ Lincoln's History of Worcester, p. 131.

merchants, enough metallic currency to relieve the local situation from the spur to violent outbreak created by compulsory resort to barter, but not enough for a medium of trade for the entire state.

The dissemination through the community of a large number of discharged soldiers, who for years had been accustomed to a life in which many of the rules of civilized society were necessarily set aside and standards adopted better fitted for success in carrying on war, added to the perplexities of the situation. It is in fact to be wondered at, that the presence of so many men seeking to resume their functions of life in a society which had adapted itself to their absence, should have resulted in so little violence. Civil war brings in its trail disturbances caused by efforts at readjustment, and if after the war of secession, we escaped the worst of these, we at least inherited an army of tramps, whom no Count Rumford has as yet brought into line. My purpose is not, however, to dwell upon this outbreak as one of the lawless but natural products of a prolonged state of war, a proposition which is obviously admissible, but to point out the fact that besides the disorganizing effect of the presence of these disbanded soldiers, there was throughout the community a general conviction that relief from distress was to be secured by opposition to the constituted government, a proposition that had been the fundamental doctrine of provincial politics for many years. The underlying cause of all or nearly all of the trouble, at this time, the lack of a circulating medium, was incapable of immediate remedy. Patience under the distressing circumstances which prevailed was not to have been expected, but the readiness with which so many citizens were led to rehearse their grievances and demand redress in such form as practically would have called for a revision of the fundamental instrument of social and political organization, was probably the result of the protean character of the government during its century and a half of life, and of the political teachings of provincial days. Moreover,

if the action of the people in convention should lead to outbreak, the remonstrants were not altogether unaccustomed to the use of remedies of that nature as a means of overcoming what they deemed to be the oppression of the government. Witness the deposition and deportation of Andros; the Knowles impressment riot; the resistance to the enforcement of the Stamp Act; the destruction of the household property of Governor Hutchinson; the riotous proceedings and the personal maltreatment of certain officers of the crown¹⁵ on the occasion of the seizure of Hancock's ship in 1768; the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor; the compulsory efforts made use of to prevent the mandamus councillors from serving; the expulsion of the loyalists from their homes, and the confiscation of their property.

Such being the conditions under which opinions as to the use of force in politics had been formed, let us turn back the leaves of history and trace the development of political interest in the colony and province.

The half century of colonial life saw a continuous struggle against the home government, with the exception of the intermission during the days of the commonwealth, when there was no crown to fight against. The assumption that a charter granted to a mercantile company contained the power through the general court of that company to administer the affairs of an important colony, in its own name, even to the dropping out of reference to the crown in all court processes, may have had some technical ground upon which it could stand, but was obviously outside the comprehension of those connected with origin of the charter. With tactful avoidance of collision with the crown, a permanent government might have been worked out, but under any other conditions the attempt to form one on these lines was liable to fail. In the letter of instruc-

¹⁵ The following, whether the incident related of Governor Shute is well founded or not, betrays the contemporaneous state of belief: "It was known to his friends that as he sat in one of the chambers of his house, the window and door of a closet being open, a bullet entered through the window and door passages and passed very near him." Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. II, p. 260.

tions which Charles II gave to the commissioners whom he sent over in 1664 for the purpose of regulating the relations of the colony with the crown, he says that one of the functions of the commissioners would be "to suppress and utterly extinguish those unreasonable jealousies and malicious calumnies which wicked and unquiet spirits perpetually labored to infuse into the minds of men, that his subjects in those parts did not submit to his government, but looked upon themselves as independent of him and his laws."¹⁶ Strike out the sonorous phrase in which the monarch sought to prepare a way of retreat for the recalcitrant colonists, through the assertion that the reports of what they were doing were incredible and malicious, and we have here recognition on the part of the crown of what was the real attitude of the colonial government, and doubtless also of the colonists. One feature of this condition of affairs was quaintly put by Cotton Mather in the translation of a Latin quotation which he says applied to Massachusetts: "A province very talkative, and ingenious for the vilifying of its public servants."¹⁷

The conflict between the crown and the colonists indicated in the above was, however, a conflict of governments and not an assault of politicians upon a government. The colonists as a rule were loyal to their own leaders. Recalcitrants were exiled and if discontents remained within the limits of the colony they were in such a minority that they could not hope to overturn the local government. "There are," said Randolph,¹⁸ "in the very Magistracy, Clergy, Army, Marchants & Comoners many that highly affect his Ma^{ty} Interest, but the dayly abuses and discouragem^{ts} offered to such in whom appears the least suspition of Loyalty makes them conceal themselves till it shall please his Ma^{ty} fully to resolve upon y^e reducing this Plantacon to their due Obedience." The whole contest between the

¹⁶ Palfrey's *History of New England*, Vol. II, p. 582.

¹⁷ *Magnalia*, Hartford Ed., 1853, Vol. I. p. 224.

¹⁸ *Toppan's Randolph*, Prince Society's Publications, Vol. II, p. 207.

colony and the crown was an instruction in the art of political warfare which could not have been lost upon the people. They were brought up on the theory that the fundamental policy of the colony was—hostility to the representatives of the crown.

With the organization of the government under the provincial charter there came a different condition of affairs. The new local administration represented the English court. The governor, the lieutenant governor and the secretary were to be appointed by the crown. The judges of the provincial law courts, the sheriffs and the other officers of the courts and of the council were in turn to be appointed by the governor and council and these several appointments would necessarily be based upon a belief that the appointees were loyal to the home government. This was especially true of the officers who were to be at the head of the local government, but the inference as to the essential quality of the politics of those whom they in turn should appoint was almost equally strong. The supplanting of an elective governor and an elective judiciary by officials whose tenure of office was dependent upon court or gubernatorial favor was practically a revolution. The local politicians seeking for relief from the aristocratic form of the new government soon discovered that the failure to prescribe salaries for the governor and for the judiciary had left in their hands an implement of warfare of which they were not slow to avail themselves. So far as the judiciary was concerned the question of their salaries did not figure in the contest until a later date, but under the leadership of the first Elisha Cooke, the assembly refused point blank to assign a specific salary to the governor. The most that they would do was from time to time to make allowances to the incumbent of the office for the time being, and the amount of these allowances was affected by the relations of the governor to the assembly. Repeated royal instructions to governors of the province to secure from the assembly a fixed salary failed totally to accomplish the desired purposes.

The people of the province had been deprived of a voice in the selection of the men for certain offices, but they at any rate had the say as to what those men should be paid, and although this control of emolument was not adequate entirely to overcome the courtiership of the several governors it evidently proved to be of importance in shaping events at certain crises in politics.

Speaking of the dependence in which Phips found himself, Chalmers says, "It now appeared how little it availed that the province had the power to appoint a governor, if the provincials might refuse to pay; how difficult it is for dependence to enforce respect."¹⁹ Hutchinson says that in his day a speech of Bellomont's to his wife on the occasion of the governor's entertaining a number of representatives was still well remembered: "Dame," said Bellomont, "we should treat these gentlemen well, they give us our bread."²⁰

On the 26th of July, 1715, Dudley being then governor, the council notified the house that the annual allowances for certain officers had not been made and added that the treasurer was not willing to be sworn for the service of the year, until his allowance for the preceding year should be granted. The question being put in the house whether they should proceed to make the allowances at this time, the tax to be levied for the year not having been agreed upon, it was decided not to do so. The points at issue between the house and council at this time were connected with the currency, and the house positively refused to make these allowances, even after the governor had promised to accept their terms, until he actually attached his signature to the bill under discussion.²¹

In 1720, at a time of activity in the chronic legislative warfare, the assembly, instead of making the usual grant to the governor for services, at the beginning of the

¹⁹ *An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies.* By George Chalmers, Boston, 1854, p. 237.

²⁰ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, Boston, 1795, Vol. II, p. 107, note.

²¹ *House Journal*, 1715, Ford's reprint, p. 45, p. 55, p. 56.

session, postponed the vote upon the appropriation to the end of their sitting and then cut down the usual allowance one half, although the depreciation of the currency had already greatly reduced the efficacy of the appropriation. They also reduced the allowance of the lieutenant governor at the same time to such an extent that he refused to accept it.²² In 1721, they temporarily withheld the allowances for all salaried officers pending the action of the governor on the approval or disapproval of certain elections which had been submitted to him for his consideration.²³ Burnet, in 1728, in his discussion with the assembly concerning his salary, asserted that the purpose of the assembly was to keep the governors in a state of dependence and then specifically stated that the house had refused last year, i. e. 1727, "to make the usual grants and allowances, not only to the lieutenant governor but to other officers, until they had compelled him to give his consent to a loan of sixty thousand pounds in bills of credit."²⁴

Belcher wrote, "The House of Representatives of this Province are running wild, nor are their attempts for assuming in a manner the whole legislative as well as the executive part of the government into their own hands to be endured with honour to his Majesty."²⁵

Pressure was continually exercised upon the governors of the province by the crown to secure from the assembly recognition of the right of the incumbent of the gubernatorial office to a fixed and permanent salary. Yet, even when the instructions to the governor contained a direct threat of parliamentary interference the assembly did not yield. This particular element of conflict was perhaps the most conspicuous and most persistent of all those which from time to time cropped out in the chronic conflicts between the assembly and governors. There were others, however, which made their appearance

²² Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Boston, 1795, Vol. II, p. 217.

²³ Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Boston, 1795, Vol. II, p. 230.

²⁴ Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. II, p. 311.

²⁵ Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. IV, p. 544, n.

at intervals and which stirred up rancor and hostility in their turn. Hutchinson gives seven heads of complaint against the house of representatives which were included in the memorials to the king filled by Governor Shute when he surreptitiously fled the province for the purpose of personally presenting his case in London.²⁶ These include the question of the extent of the rights of the crown under the charter to the pine trees of the Maine forests; certain minor questions of legislative consequence; and complaints as to sundry assumptions by the house, of military control, which were deemed inconsistent with success in the field and incompatible with the dignity of the government. To these Palfrey adds, "their persistence in crippling him [the governor] as to his maintenance, and delaying their grants to him till he had met their wishes as to giving his signature to their bills."²⁷

Perhaps the complaint that next to the salary question was most efficacious in stirring up ill feeling was the claim of the crown, under the charter, of pine trees of a certain size in the woods of Maine. The rights of the ownership of those trees were thrashed out in pamphlet literature,²⁸ in an interchange of messages between the governor and the house; and in discussions in London, where the opinions of no less than four attorneys and solicitors in the service of the crown were obtained on the subject, by the board of trade, all of course favorable to the claims of the crown.²⁹ Shute's attempt about this time to establish or to re-affirm a censorship of the press was stimulated by this contest and added fuel to the flames.³⁰ The foregoing instances selected

²⁶ Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. II, p. 271.

²⁷ Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. IV, p. 446. The seven heads of Complaint referred to by Hutchinson are given in full in The Report of the Lords of the Committee, upon Governor Shute's Memorial, with his Majesty's Order in Council thereupon. The salary question was not discussed.

²⁸ Mr. Cooke's Just and Seasonable Vindication respecting some affairs transacted in the late General Assembly at Boston, 1720.

²⁹ Opinions of Eminent Lawyers, etc., by George Chalmers, London, 1814, Vol. I, pp. 110-121.

³⁰ The Development of the Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, by Clyde Augustus Duniway, p. 83, *et seq.*

from the more conspicuous of the topics which furnished a basis for collision between the representatives and the government in the days of the provinces are but examples of the chronic discussions which took place between the governors and the representatives. The pages of the house journal teem with illustrations of the point which I have sought to establish, but perhaps those already cited are adequate. Later on we have the more acute conditions of the conflict with which we are more familiar, the attempt to raise revenue through stamps; the Townshend tax acts; the trouble in connection with the furnishing of barracks for troops; the effort to make the judges independent of legislative influence through the establishment of fixed salaries to be paid by the commissioners of customs; and the attempt to alter the form of government by making the councillors appointive. Detailed reference to the conflict between the provincial government and the colonists during this period is unnecessary.

The action of committees of correspondence in stimulating resistance to government measures was obviously political and we know that it was powerful. This action was recognized by contemporaries not only as political but was even designated as machine politics. "I am constantly busied in helping forward the political Machines in all parts of this Province," wrote Joseph Warren to Samuel Adams in 1774.³¹

The method of interchanging ideas and information, between Boston and the smaller towns, the inauguration of which in 1772 is attributed to Samuel Adams, was founded upon the practice which had been in existence nearly sixty years, of the publication, distribution, and sale of the proceedings of the house of representatives. Information concerning current events which may influence political opinions is to-day disseminated through our community with such rapidity that even the most distant villages are brought daily in touch

³¹ Cushing's *Transition from Province to Commonwealth*, p. 97, note.

with the current affairs of the world. Indeed, such is the enterprise of some of our newspapers that they not infrequently anticipate the occurrence of events. The charter of the province antedates the oldest of the so-called newspapers of that time. The publisher of the *News-Letter* announced in 1723, a doctrine which might be epitomized in *Mercutio's* "a plague o' both your houses." He was debarred, he said, from pleading for harmony and concord "for fear of adding Oyl to the Flames, and he Remembers the Fable which shews him the danger of Interceding between Fierce and Contending Enemies. The Publisher would therefore strive to oblige all his Readers by Publishing those Transactions only, that have no Relation to any of our Quarrels, and may be equally entertaining to the greatest Adversaries."³² On the other hand the proprietor of the "*Weekly Rehearsal*" invited "All Gentlemen of Leisure and Capacity, inclined on either side, to write anything of a Political Nature, that tends to enlighten and serve the Publick, to communicate their Productions, provided that they are not overlong, and confined within Modesty and Good Manners."³³ The "*New-England Courant*" was pronounced by the assembly to be "a disturber of the peace and good order of his Majesty's subjects of this Province," and, while it continued to be so, may have served to offset the neutrality of the "*News-Letter*" or the equipoise of the "*Rehearsal*," but neither these papers nor any of the others published in Boston in provincial days were in any true sense to be relied upon for the dissemination of local news or the propagation of political doctrines. The theory of those connected with the press at that time was that European news was of consequence, but that local affairs did not need the aid of the newspaper for dissemination. The residents in the rural districts would have fared badly if they had been compelled to rely upon the various papers published in provincial

³² Thomas's History of Printing, Vol. II, p. 204.

³³ Thomas's History of Printing, Vol. II, p. 229.

days for knowledge of what was going on at the state-house. Chance, however, favored their conversion into a set of politicians. The circumstances connected with this important event are as follows:

In 1715, while Dudley was governor, the quarrel between the house and the executive was continuous and acute. It was obvious that the representatives not only distrusted the governor but that they did not believe that his word could be relied upon. On the 21st day of June, the house was summoned to the council chamber and the court was prorogued to the 20th day of July. The following extract from the journal of the house contains an abstract of the reasons given by the governor for the action:³⁴

"The Representatives returning to their own Chamber, and taking into Consideration his Excellency's Speech, directed to the Court, before he Declared the Prorogation:—Importing,—That it was almost a Month since the beginning of the Sessions, and that they had done little or nothing for the good of the Province, and that the Houses were distempered, and therefore he should Raise them by a short Prorogation, hoping they would come together in a better Temper:—Did therefore Unanimously Agree and Conclude to Print their Journal of the present Sessions, and Desired the Representatives of Boston to take care that the same might be Seasonably done; and the Clerk to prepare a Copy accordingly."

The Boston Public Library has a copy of this 1715 journal which was acquired, if I am not mistaken, during the term of office, as librarian, of the late Mellen Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain was always much interested in this document and in a communication to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1882³⁵ he calls attention to the fact that with this number began the publication of the house journal. The events which occurred on the 21st of June, 1715, when Dudley prorogued the court, fascinated him and he was wont to describe them with

³⁴ House Journal, 1715, Ford's reprint, p. 34.

³⁵ Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society, Ser. I, vol. XX, p. 33.

a freedom of speech not permissible in a formal paper devoted to historical research, but which brought before his hearers much more clearly what had actually taken place. "Dudley," he would say, "finding the representatives obstinate and unwilling to co-operate with him in legislation that he wanted, prorogued the court, and in his speech told the representatives that he sent them home because they were wasting their own time as well as the money of the province. It would be better for them to be at home than to be drawing pay for doing nothing in Boston. Whereupon the representatives said, 'Doing nothing. We'll show our constituents that this is a slander by publishing our journal. This will of itself refute the governor's charge.'"

From that day down to the revolution, the journal was published and to a certain extent distributed. The means were thereby placed at the command of the residents in the rural districts of knowing what their representatives were doing. It is not to be supposed that the editions were large, but at any rate each representative had a copy and the colophons of the publication show that the journal was placed on public sale. Up to the time of this publication the people of Boston alone of the residents in the province were so situated that they could know what was occurring from day to day in the general court, but from that time forward not only they but the groups that in winter gathered round the open fires in the bar rooms of the country taverns could discuss the questions pending in the court, could criticise the doings of their representatives, and could with some sort of authority speak of matters pertaining to provincial politics.³⁶

The quotations which I have made from the journal of 1715 were obtained from a reprint issued by our

³⁶ "They always esteem it [the Liberty of the press] one of their greatest blessings, as being the *Means* of conveying public Intelligence so that they may come to the knowledge of what their Delegates are about, to know what is doing Abroad and at Home, which they have an absolute right to know, and form their Conduct accordingly." Appendix to Massachusetts in Agony, 1751, p. 4; see Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Society Publications, Vol. IV, p. 464.

associate, Worthington C. Ford. Let me quote from his preface a few words which indicate the effect made upon his mind of the political character of this proceeding:³⁷ "Thus began a practice of printing the Journals of the House which was continued in an almost unbroken series till the Revolutionary War. The convenience of having the record in such a form would alone have justified the publication; as time passed, the political advantages were also recognized, and the long controversy arising between the Governor and the House or between the Council and the House, led to many papers, worthy to be called State papers, being spread upon the pages of the Journals. Such publications were intended more for the constituents of the House than for any effect they could produce upon those immediately engaged in the controversies; and, in the absence of an active press, the political questions received their discussions in messages, addresses, declarations, or the more formal proclamation,—the most final of all expressions of opinion."

The representatives began the publication of their journal solely to offset the aspersions of Governor Dudley. The obvious success which attended this action was demonstrated at once, and the value to the representatives of this means of communication with their constituents led to the continuance of the practice. The following instances will show how powerful the publicity thus given legislative proceedings proved to be. In the summer of 1719, there was a prolonged contest over the bill for granting rates and duties of import and tunnage of shipping. Towards the end of the discussion the house passed a resolution which was offensive to the council. In their answer thereto the board notified the house that the publication of the resolve in question would oblige them to make a reply. The differences of opinion between the two houses, they added, were already too well known. They therefore submitted to the house whether it would not "be

³⁷ House Journal, 1715, Ford's reprint, p. [ix].

better to wholly suppress the Publishing any Thing which may carry or bear a Reflection on any Part of the Court and be improved by those who are not our best Friends to our Disadvantage."³⁸

At the November session the same year, the governor repeatedly requested, and the house repeatedly refused³⁹ the withholding from the press of an "Additional answer to his Speech" relating to a charge made against the provincial government by the lords commissioners, of having "hindered the Surveyor General of the lands in the execution of his office." In July, 1721, Governor Shute, in a speech to the representatives said, "I am very much concerned to find in the printed journal of the house, first, an order to appoint a committee to draw a memorial upon, or representation of, my speech, made before the dissolution of the Assembly of March last, and afterwards the memorial itself, signed by Mr. Cooke in the name of the committee."⁴⁰ These instances, of remonstrance at publication and of appeal to prevent the same, sufficiently demonstrate the promptness with which the political power thus gained by the house was realized by the governor and council and they adequately show the full appreciation of the efficacy of this proceeding.

Indiscretion on the part of men of political prominence, especially if committed in epistolary correspondence, was eagerly seized upon during this period and was availed of for what it was worth. Paul Dudley, the son of the governor, wrote to a friend, "This country will never be worth living in for lawyers and gentlemen 'till the charter is taken away." By some means or other the letter fell into the hands of his enemies and was made use of for all it was worth by the political opponents of his father and himself.⁴¹

³⁸ Laws and Resolves Province Massachusetts Bay, Vol. 11, p. 161.

³⁹ Falfrey's History of New England, Vol. IV, p. 405.

⁴⁰ Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. 11, p. 234.

⁴¹ It was published in "A Vindication of the Bank of Credit," etc. See Colonial Currency Reprints, Prince Society Publications, Vol. I, p. 309, and again in "Reflections upon Reflections," etc., *Ibid.* Vol. 11, p. 120.

Private letters of Thomas Hutchinson and others, in which as loyalists they had expressed opinions obnoxious to the patriotic party, were published in 1773 in various forms much to the consternation of the writers, and with great political effect.⁴²

The point which I have endeavored to sustain in this paper, that the politics of the province were consistently maintained by partisans who were either persistently loyal to the government or with equal persistence hostile to it, might perhaps rest upon the evidence furnished by the condition of affairs just prior to the revolution when committees of correspondence, of inspection and of observation, when town meetings and county conventions marshalled the forces of the patriot party and held them in line ready for action against the government; but I have sought to go behind this and to show that these organizations were the outgrowth of the action of the house of representatives in printing their journal, thus furnishing a date for the beginning of the participation of the rural population in current politics. If the inference drawn as to the effects resulting from the picturesque encounter of Dudley with the house be justifiable, then it is obvious that the representatives on that day earned for themselves a permanent niche in the hall of history, by thus arousing the interest of the farmers in the affairs of the province; and I may also add that this permanent addition to the discontents in Boston made the party which was hostile to the government so powerful that it is not to be wondered at that the memory of its teachings should have lingered until the day of Shays.

⁴² See Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. VI, p. 93, for a list of the publications. Hutchinson himself describes the affair at length in his *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. III, p. 400, *et seq.* Hosuer in his *Life of Thomas Hutchinson* gives the Hutchinson letters, Appendix C.

THE VALUE OF ANCIENT MEXICAN
MANUSCRIPTS IN THE STUDY OF
THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT
OF WRITING.

BY ALFRED M. TOZZER.

The successive stages through which writing has passed have been fairly generally accepted and I do not intend at this time to add anything new in regard to this development of writing.¹ Illustrative examples have usually been drawn from various sources in point of time and place. It is possible, however, to find in the Mexican manuscripts illustrations of all the steps in the early history of writing.²

Mexico is the only part of the new world where there are any appreciable data on the prehistoric life of a people outside of the monuments and objects found in connection with them. In Mexico and Central America we approach even if we do not, by any means, reach that fortunate situation in the old world where the documentary evidence of an ancient culture, a literature, is present as an important aid in the study of the life of a people.

The manuscripts of Mexico and Central America have, for the most part, been neglected by all except the specialists in this field. These documents furnish important examples of primitive ideas of art and illustration together with minute details of ethnological interest.

¹For a short account of the development of writing, see Clodd, 1907.

²A portion of this paper was presented at the Toronto Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, December 28-31, 1908. A brief abstract is published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, (second series) Vol. XIII, pp. 65-66, 1909.

The Mexican manuscripts may be divided into two obvious classes, those written before the advent of the Spaniards at the beginning of the sixteenth century and those written during the early days of the Spanish occupation. Another classification might be based on the distinct localities where the manuscripts are supposed to have been written, the nationality of their authors. The codices of the Nahuas or Aztecs of the plateau of Mexico are to be distinguished from those of the Nahuas of the *tierra caliente* region and these in turn from those of the Zapotecs in the state of Oaxaca, and these, again, from the manuscripts of the Mayas of Yucatan, southern Mexico and Guatemala. The many minor differences do not prevent one from seeing a great similarity both in subject matter and treatment running through them all. The calendar, together with other features of the life of the different peoples of Mexico and Central America, shows a common origin and, to a certain point at least, a parallel development.

The number of manuscripts is limited. The Maya documents form the smallest class with three. There are more than a score of available codices from the Mixtec-Zapotec region, a great part of which show a strong Nahua influence, and about half as many from the Nahuas proper, in addition to a large number of single maps and other manuscript material from Mexico.³

The Spanish priests in their attempts to Christianize the natives aimed especially to destroy all that pertained to the ancient teaching. Accounts tell of the large number of manuscripts burned, and all owing to the misdirected zeal of these Spanish missionaries. The greater part of the documents still in existence are in European libraries although a few still remain in public or private collections in Mexico.

The manuscripts are usually written either on long strips of deerskin, fastened together end to end, or on strips of paper made of bark or of maguay fibre. The

³For the names of the most important codices from Mexico and Central America, see Saville, 1901, Lejeal, 1902, and Lehmann, 1905.

whole strip is, in most cases, folded up like a screen. The two sides of the sheet are often covered with a thin layer of fine plaster on which the characters are painted. Those dating from post-Columbian times are often written on European paper.

The greater part of these early manuscripts have been published. Lord Kingsborough in the first quarter of the last century was the first to recognize the importance of reproducing the codices for study. The Duc de Loubat has been instrumental in bringing out in exact facsimile several of the most important ones. There is therefore a considerable amount of available material for a study of the writing of Mexico and Central America.

Both the pre-Columbian and the post-Columbian manuscripts contain records of an historical nature, accounts of migrations, the succession of rulers, campaigns and lists of tribute. Different phases of the ancient religion and the calendar are also shown, the secular and the sacred calendar, astronomical calculations, the methods of divination of the lucky and unlucky days, and the religious ceremonials.

It is not, however, the ideas expressed in these documents but the methods used in expressing them, not what is written but how it is written, not the content but the means employed, that the present paper aims to consider. The manuscripts form only a part of the available material for the study of the writing of the peoples of Mexico and Central America. The extensive use of stone carving, on the façades of buildings, on altars and stelæ, and on the lintels, opens up another extensive source from which examples might be drawn. It is only in one case, however, that an illustration will be taken from the stone bas-reliefs.

The early history of writing has been curiously alike over the greater part of the world. The preliminary step is in the use of reminders or mnemonics. These signs convey no message in themselves but serve only as an aid in bringing to mind some event. They are not universally useful as are many specimens of picture

writing. They can usually be employed only by those who possess the previous knowledge which the reminders serve to recall. Notched sticks and tallies of various kinds are well-known examples of this class. The Roman rosary immediately suggests itself as belonging to the same type. The Peruvian *quipu* or knotted string is usually cited as the best representative of the class of reminders. Boturini (1746) in his "Idea de una nueva historia general" states that the natives of Mexico used a knotted string for recording events before the invention of a hieroglyphic writing. Its native name was *nepohual tzitzin*, "*cordon de cuenta y numero*."⁴ Lumholtz (1902, Vol. II, p. 128) states that the Huichols of north-central Mexico in setting out on a journey prepare two strings of bark fibre and tie as many knots in them as there are days in the journey. One string is left behind in the temple with one of the principal men and the other is carried on the trip. A knot is untied in each string each day. As the travellers always camp in the same places, they are protected from accidents in each place by the prayers of those at home. Lumholtz cites a second instance of the use of the knotted string as a reminder. In the *Hikuli* rite there is a general confession made by the women. "In order to help their memories each one prepares a string made out of strips of palm leaves in which she has tied as many knots as she has had lovers. This twine she brings to the temple and standing before the fire she mentions aloud all the men she has scored on her string, name after name. Having finished, she throws her list into the fire and when the god has accepted and consumed it in his flame, all is forgotten," The men have a similar custom.

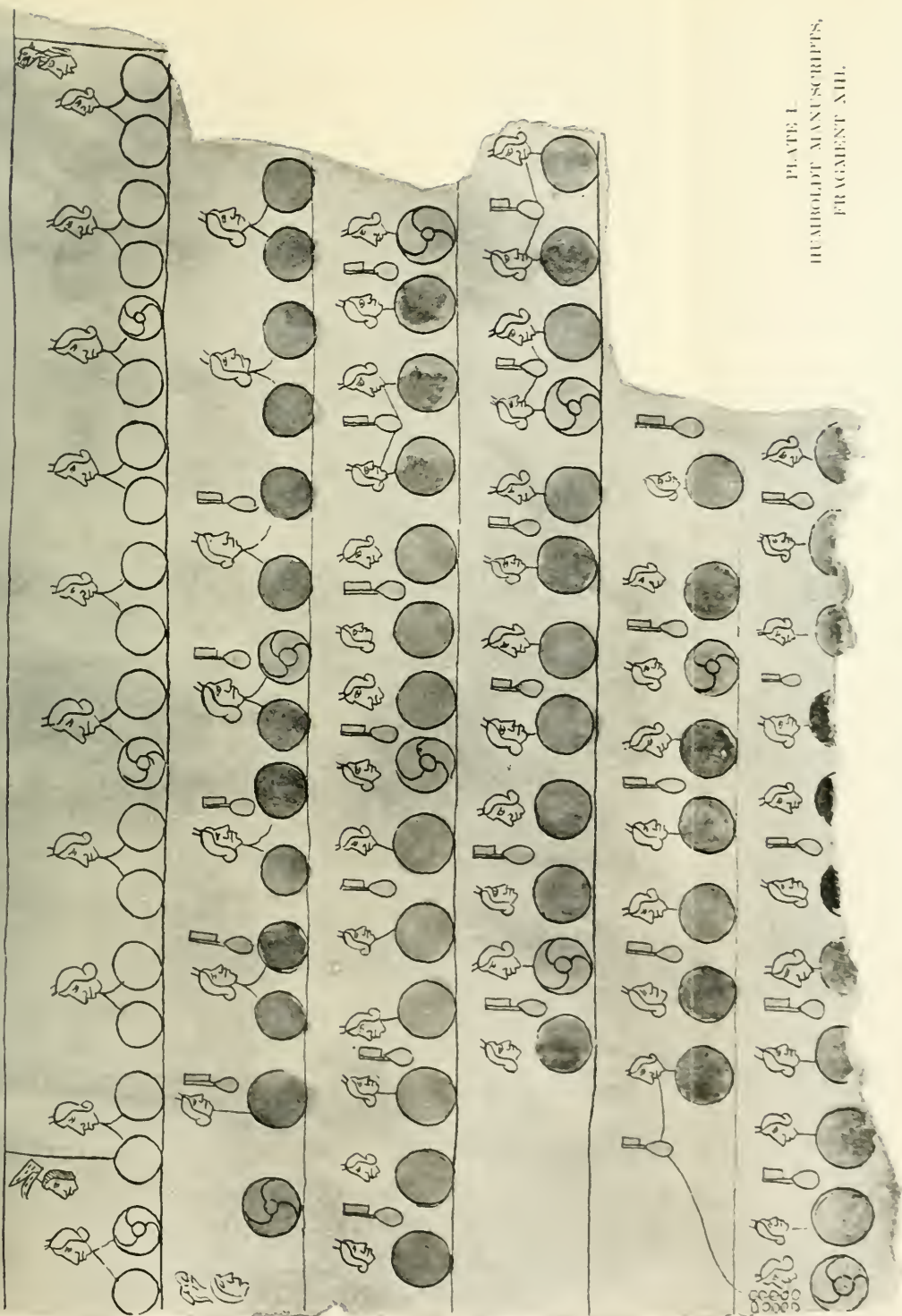
⁴ Boturini, 1746, p. 85, "Nació assimismo en esta Edad un raro modo de historiar, y fuè con unos Cordones largos, en los quales se entretexian otros delgados, que pendian de el Cordon principal con nudos de diferentes colores. Llamabanse estas Historias Funiculares en los Reynos del Perú *Quipu*, y en los de la Nueva España *Nepohualtzitzin*, derivando su denominacion de el adverbio *Nepohualli*, que quiere decir *Ochenta*, ò como si dixeramos, *Cordon de cuenta, y numero*, en que se referian y numeraban las cosas dignas de memoria, assi Divinas, como Humanas."

A single manuscript leaf of the Humboldt Collection, dated 1569, (Pl. I) shows the same idea of reminders together with true picture-writing.⁵ It is a baker's account. Just as the baker in many countries notched a stick in keeping his record, so here he employs much the same principle. The circles are tallies, the reminders of the number of tortillas or perhaps loaves of bread baked each day by the women. The sign of the flag over several of the circles is a symbol for twenty. The circles containing the curved lines show the feast days, the Sundays, coming six days apart. The Spanish method of keeping time has been adopted in this case.

The first step in the development of writing after the preliminary stage of reminders is that of pure pictures. There is no lack of illustrations of this step in the manuscripts. Pictures are used simply as pictures with no idea of sound entering into the meaning. They are used not as symbols or signs of something else but simply in their objective sense. There is no trace of mysticism. The objects represented cannot be treated as ciphers or cryptograms in any attempt at their interpretation. A good example is found in a series of pages (Pls. II-V) from a post-Columbian manuscript in the Mendoza Collection now in the Bodleian Library and published in Kingsborough (1831-1848, Vol. I, Pls. LIX-LXII).⁶ The pictures give a clear account of the education of the Mexican boy and girl from the age of three to the age of fifteen. The boy and his father are shown on the left and the girl and her mother on the right. The years are indicated by circles and the daily allotment of bread appears in front of each child. At the age of three a half-cake or tortilla is the daily ration, whereas at four it is increased to a whole one.

⁵This manuscript is called Fragment XIII of the Humboldt Collection and is described in Seler, 1893, and also in his collected works, Vol. I, pp. 276-283. This is translated in *Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin* 28, pp. 212-217, Pl. XXVIII.

⁶This series of pages is also published in Mallory, 1888-1889, Pls. XXXV-XXXVIII. I am indebted for this series of pictures (Pls. II-V) and also for Pl. I, to Mr. F. W. Hodge, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology.



Pl. II shows the education from the ages of three to six. Pl. III indicates the tasks imposed and the punishments given to children from the ages of seven to ten. Pl. IV continues the punishments for the eleventh and twelfth years and shows the tasks from the thirteenth and fourteenth years. Pl. V, at the top, indicates that at the age of fifteen the boy is turned over to an outside authority to continue his education. The lower half of the same plate shows clearly by means of pictures the marriage ceremony. The groom carries his bride on his back into an enclosure and is accompanied by four women carrying torches. The marriage rite consists of tying the corners of the mantles of the two together. The marriage feast is also indicated. The Spanish accounts of the ancient marriage customs are no clearer than the pictures shown in this manuscript. Every detail recorded in the picture is described in the Spanish texts covering these points.

It is not possible in the present paper to enter into a discussion of the different uses of picture-writing among the Mexicans. From our point of view much that appears as mere decoration, as ornament, on the sculptured façades of the buildings and on the bas-reliefs are far more than decorative designs. There is, in every case, a meaning, however hidden it may be by the complication of the design.

Picture-writing may develop along two lines, the first to a form of conventionalized pictures, and the second to one characterized by symbolic forms which in turn may become conventionalized. Conventionalization shows itself often in stereotyped forms used over and over again to express the same idea. The mountain almost always appears as shown in Figs. 3-5. All the top part is painted green, the bottom yellow with a line of red above. The color of the original drawings is a great aid in identifying the pictures.

The usual form of house is shown in Fig. 3, water as in Fig. 4 at the top of the mountain. The water is usually colored blue.

Symbolism may appear in the use of the part for the whole, the picture of the whole body of a jaguar may give way to a representation of the head or, still further, the idea of the animal may be expressed by the spotting of the skin. The road travelled is shown by foot-prints as in Fig. 1. Night is pictured by the stars in a circular field as seen in the Mendoza manuscript (Pl. IV, n). Death is often shown by a skull.

Symbolism and conventionalism may appear in the same figure. Speech and song are usually expressed by a comma-like form in front of the mouth as shown before the parents instructing their children (Pls. II-V). These speech-forms sometimes go so far as to indicate



FIGURE 1.

the actual character of the speech. An example taken from a stone bas-relief in Yucatan⁷ illustrates this point (Fig. 2). The whole design, of which that shown in Fig. 2 is only a small part, centres around an altar behind which is shown the feathered serpent. Speech-scrolls are indicated before the mouths of all the personages. The warrior above is bringing his offering of weapons. He has before his mouth, separated only by his breast ornament, the conventionalized head of a serpent with open jaws, the nose-plug, the eye and teeth. This evidently is the representation of a prayer or speech in behalf of the serpent-god. Below, to the left of the altar, the figure is possibly an idol; to the right of the altar, a civilian is shown bringing his gifts, possibly bags of feathers. Before the mouth of this figure a most elaborate speech is indicated with buds, blossoms,

⁷ This bas-relief forms the back of the lower chamber of the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza. For a drawing of the whole design, see Maudslay, 1895-1902, Plates, Vol. III, Pl. XLIX. An explanation of the design is given in Seler, 1898.

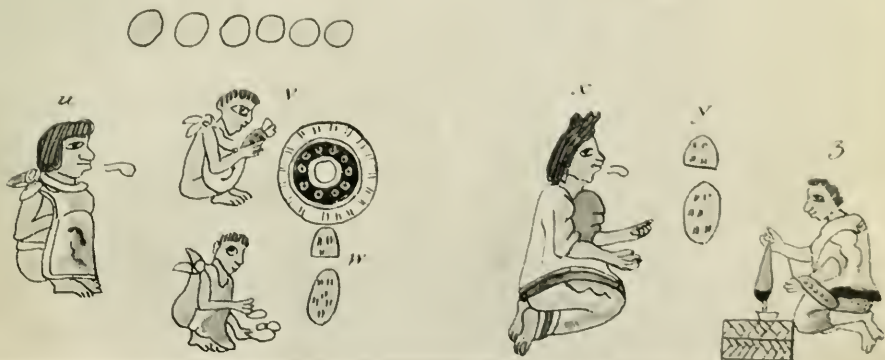
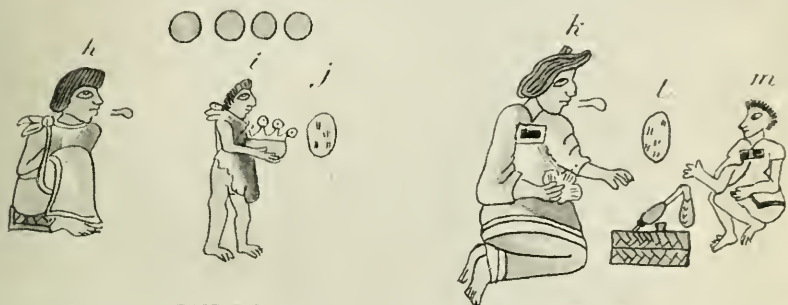




PLATE III. MENDOZA CODEX.

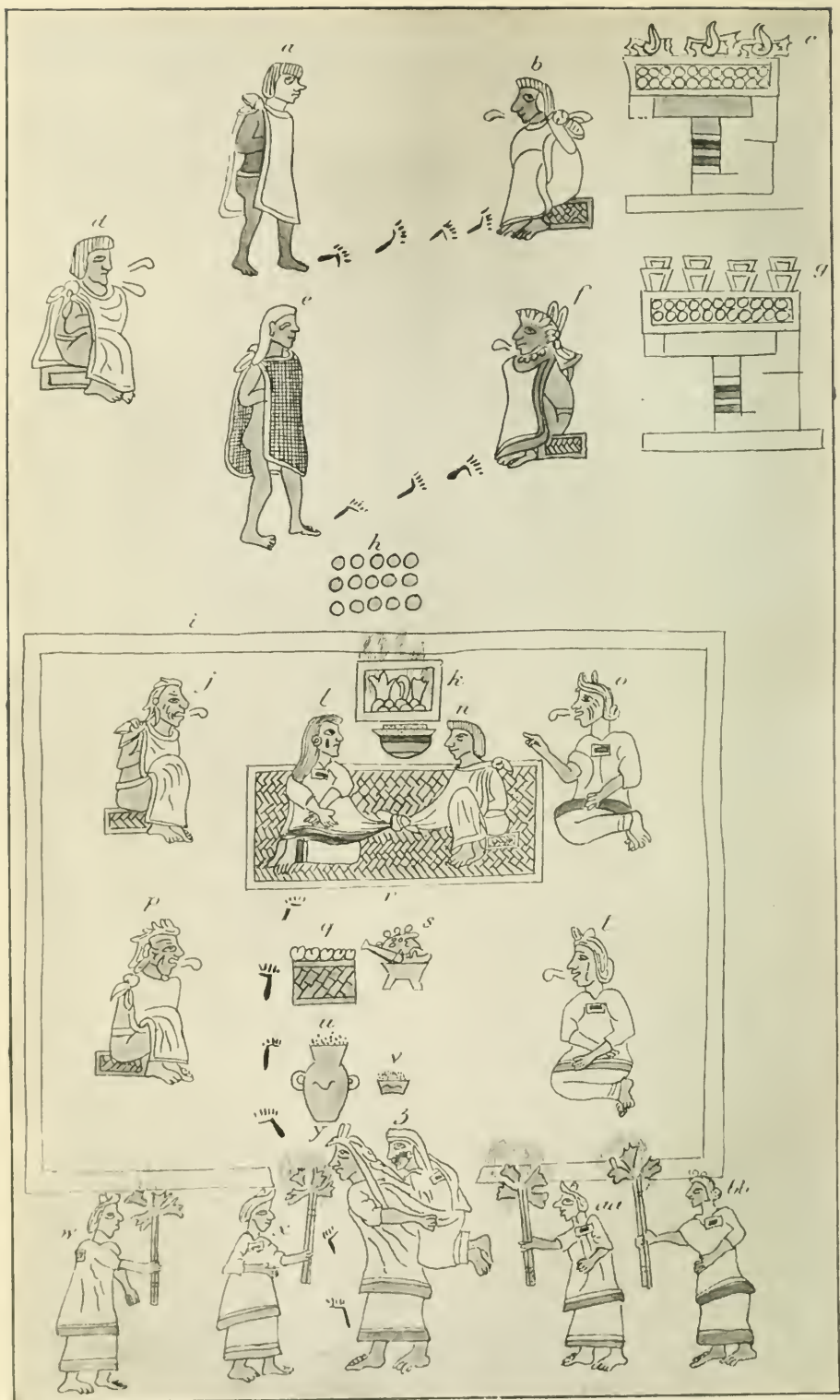


PLATE V. MENDOZA CODEX.

and leaves.⁸ In each case the conventionalization and symbolism are marked.

This development of writing from realistic pictures to those of a symbolic or conventionalized nature has



FIGURE 2.

its parallel in a development of ornamental art.⁹ That the reverse process from certain more or less geometric forms to those of a realistic character may sometimes be present in primitive art should also be noted.

⁸ For other designs expressing speech and song, see Orozco y Berra, 1880, Vol. I, p. 479 and Pl. VII, Figs. 321-346.

⁹ Professor Putnam (1887) was the first to point this out in connection with American art. See also his paper on "Symbolism in ancient American art" (1896).

The "ideographic" stage in writing is reached when suggestions take the place of representation. The idea rather than the picture is the important factor. The Spanish priests realized very early the great ability possessed by the natives of Mexico to read by means of pictures. They took advantage of this in several ways in order to disseminate the teachings of the Roman religion. The entire catechism was shown by means of pictures. No question of sound entered into this sort of picture-writing. These pictures were painted upon great cloths and hung up before the people. A page taken from Velades,¹⁰ a Latin account of the activities of the priesthood, dated 1579 (Pl. VI), shows some of the ways taken by the priests to introduce the new religion into Mexico. At the top of the page at the right and left, a priest is to be noted pointing out to a number of natives various signs on a hanging chart. These express in pictures the different parts of the catechism of the Church. Torquemada (1723)¹¹ and other early writers describe these charts or "*lienzos*."

I know of none of these charts still in existence but there are several manuscripts which contain the same class of pictures. Leon (1900) illustrates and describes this kind of document. The Peabody Museum has a manuscript which is slightly more elaborate in its figures than that pictured by Leon, but in all essential particulars they are identical. Both may be considered copies of earlier charts. Pl. VII shows two pages from that belonging to the Museum. The Apostles' Creed is pictured and it may easily be read. The writing,

¹⁰ Velades, 1579, Chap. XXVIII, gives a pictorial alphabet which is of no importance. Valentine, 1880, p. 74, gives a reproduction of it.

¹¹ Book XV, Chap. XXV, "Tuvieron estos Benitos Padres, un modo de Predicar, no menos trabajoso, que artificioso, y mui provechoso, para estos Indios, por ser conforme al uso, que ellos tenian, de tratar todas las cosas por Pinturas, y era desta manera. Hacian Pintar en un Lienço, los Articulos de la Fè, y en otro, los diez Mandamientos de Dios, y en otro, los siete Sacramentos, y lo demás que querian, de la Doctrina Christiana; y quando el Predicador, queria Predicar de los Mandamientos colgavan junto, de donde se ponía à Predicar el Lienço de los Mandamientos en distancia que podia, con una Vara señalar la parte del Lienço, que queria. . . ." For further references to this custom, see Leon, 1900.



PLATE VI. A PAGE FROM VELADES, 1579.



PLATE VII. A PAGE FROM PEABODY MUSEUM MANUSCRIPT.

like that of early Greek inscriptions, is boustrophedon, the first line to be read from left to right, the second from right to left and thus alternating to the end.

The representation of the "descent to hell" as a ladder and the open jaws of a monster, the "forgiveness of sins" by a dotted line running from the palm of the hand of the confessor to the head of the kneeling figure, and "life everlasting" by parallel lines are only some of the interesting ways in which the ideas are expressed. These pictures are essentially modern¹² and yet in the signs for heaven and earth, for speech, and in several other features the native influence is clearly to be noted in the drawings. I know of no better example of an "ideograph."

In all these illustrations we have seen pure "thought writing,"¹³ ideas expressed by pictures, conventionalized pictures, symbols or conventionalized symbols. Up to this time there has been no suggestion of the name, or, more exactly, the sound of the name. Ideas have been expressed, but ideas regardless of the sounds which the names would signify.

The next step to be illustrated by Mexican examples is where sound comes in for the first time as a factor. It is not the object now that is the desired thing but the name of the object. This marks an intermediate stage between picture-writing on the one hand and phonetic-writing on the other. It employs the well-known principle of the rebus. It is this step which is illustrated with special clearness in the Nahuatl manuscripts, perhaps better than in the writing of any other people.

Much has been written in various places on this phase of the writing of the Mexicans. The phonetic character of the greater part of the various pictures has been

¹² Leon, 1900, dates his manuscript about the year 1771. The Peabody MS. was evidently used by one of its owners as an account book. There is an entry made in 1791 and another which reads: "En 29 dias del mes de Junio, de 1801, pago Juan Martin."

¹³ Scler, 1888, uses the term "*Gedankenrebus*" for this kind of writing.

known for some time.¹⁴ Brinton (1886 and 1886, a) has discussed this method of writing and gives it the term "ikonomatic," the "name of the figure or image," referring to the sound of the name rather than to any objective significance as a picture. Phonetic-picture-writing is perhaps a term more easily understood.

The simplest names are those compounded of two nouns expressed directly by two pictures:—

Cal-tepec, the house on the mountain (Fig. 3),

Cal from *calli*, house,

Tepec from *tepell*, mountain.

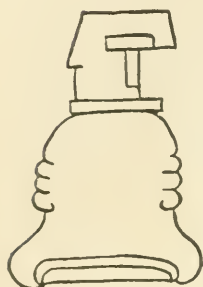


FIGURE 3.

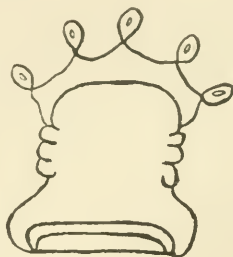


FIGURE 4

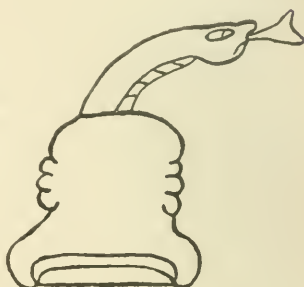


FIGURE 5.

A-tepec, the water on the mountain (Fig. 4),

A from *atl*, water,

Tepec from *tepell*, mountain.

Coa-tepec, the mountain of the serpent (Fig. 5),

Coa from *coatl*, serpent,

Tepec from *tepell*, mountain.

The verbal idea is expressed as one of the factors in some of the proper names, giving a compound of a verb and a noun, both ideas being expressed by pictures:—

Toli-man, the place where the rushes are cut (Fig. 6),

Toli from *tollin*, rushes,

Ma, the root of the verb meaning "to take something with the hand."

¹⁴ Peñafiel, 1885, gives an atlas of the place-names found in the tribute lists in the Codex Mendocino.

There are various ways of expressing the same combination of sounds. The syllable *pan* may be shown in three different ways, as follows:—

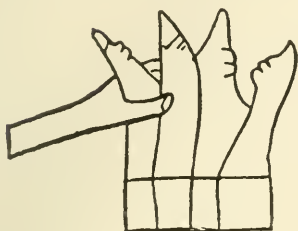


FIGURE 6.

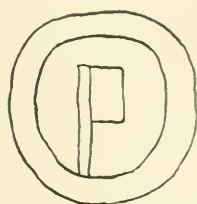


FIGURE 7.

- 1, by the picture of a flag, *panlli* (Fig. 7):—

Chimal-pan, the shield of the flag,

Chimal, from *chimalli*, a shield,

Pan from *panlli*, a flag.

- 2, by means of the representation of a river or canal, *apanlli* (Fig. 8):—

Coapan, the river of the serpent,

Coa from *coatl*, serpent,

Pan from *apanlli*, a river or canal.



FIGURE 8.

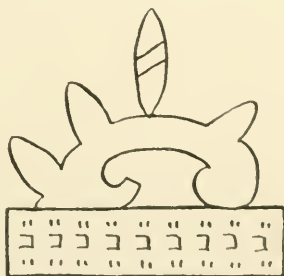


FIGURE 9.

- 3, by means of position, the syllable *pani* meaning "over" or "in" (Fig. 9):—

Itz-mi-quil-pan, The obsidian knife over the verdure of the cultivated-field,

Itz, from *itzli*, obsidian knife,

Mi from *milli*, a cultivated field,

Quil from *quilil*, verdure,

Pan from *pani*, over.

The color of the picture also has a phonetic significance in some cases as (Fig. 10):—

A-co-coz-pan, the canal of the very yellow water,

A from *atl*, water,

Co-coz, the intensified form from *coztic*, yellow,¹⁵

Pan from *apan*, river or canal.

In all these examples the meaning of the picture is conveyed at the same time as the sound.¹⁶ The name is not made up of signs used simply for their phonetic value alone but the meaning is expressed by the signs

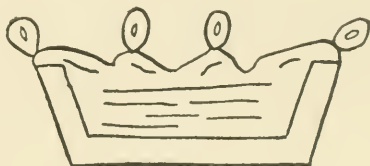


FIGURE 10.



FIGURE 11.

as well. The town of the "very yellow water" undoubtedly derived its name from the fact that it was situated on the bank of a muddy stream. We note the river and the yellow water in the original drawing as well as the sides of the stream.

The true phonetic stage is not reached until signs are used without regard to their meaning as pictures but simply for their phonetic value. In all the examples of place-names given the different syllables of the term have been expressed directly by pictures of objects or acts, by position, or by color. Some other method has to be employed when one desires to bring out a meaning

¹⁵ In the original manuscripts the water is colored yellow.

¹⁶ Another interesting development of the use of a sign where the essential feature is its name rather than its significance as a picture is seen in the character for the day *Ollin* (Fig. 11). The word means "rolling motion" and is used not only to designate this day in the series of twenty days but is found again and again in the historical records to indicate the occurrence of an earthquake.

where it is not possible to translate the idea directly by a picture or by any of the other means we have noted.

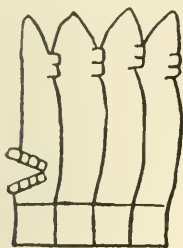


FIGURE 12.

thing" and the second syllable, *tlan*, is also found in *tlantli*, meaning "teeth." Thus if the picture of some teeth (Fig. 12) is shown, the sound *tlan* would be expressed suggesting in this case the meaning, not of teeth, but of nearness.

There is another word for "near" or "near by," *nauac*. A place named *Quauhnauc* has the meaning, "in or near the forest." *Quauh* is the root of the word *quauitl*, tree. The termination *nauac* is supplied by the sign of "clear speech" (Fig. 13) which is a second meaning of *nauac*. A variant

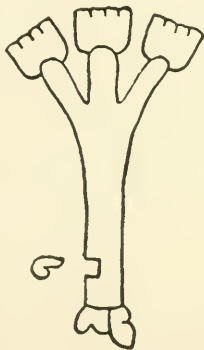


FIGURE 13.



FIGURE 14.

of this place-name is shown in the Aubin manuscript (Fig. 14). Here there is an animal head with the leaves of the tree shown on top. Speech is represented as in the preceding form.

An interesting class of diminutives is formed in the same way by the use of the homophone *zinco* as in *Tollanzinco*, meaning "Little Tollan." The use of determinatives is not found to express the

special meaning of the word which is to be used as is the case in the Egyptian writing of the same class.

We find in the place-names we have been considering the beginning of a syllabary, certain characters always used for certain combinations of sounds. These signs not only express single syllables but in a few cases, as in *tepec* and *nauac*, double syllables, and, *a* from *atl*, single sounds.

The adoption of certain definite signs to express certain combinations of sounds is a step far in advance of the stage of pure picture-writing and it is well on its way toward the adoption of an alphabet where the signs no longer express combinations of sounds but single sounds. It might be possible to go a step farther in the case of the Mexican writing and say that the Nahuas had reached, to a slight degree, this final stage in their writing. We have seen how an *a* sound in the place-names is always expressed in their writing by the sign for water, *atl*. So other signs which formerly stood for entire syllables seem in some cases to have been used to express the initial sound of the syllable. The sign of a flag, *pantli*, came in time to be used for the initial sound *p*, the sign for *etl*, bean, was worn down to express the initial *e* sound, and the sign *otli*, for road, to be used for an *o* sound. I am inclined to think, however, that the Nahuas in pre-Columbian times did not realize the importance of the step which they were about to take, the use of signs for single sounds, an alphabet. In the few cases where this seems to be found we have the idea of a syllabary rather than an alphabet as the *tl* of *atl*, *etl*, and *otli*, is a nominal ending and the word in composition can stand without this suffix. The signs for *a*, *e*, and *o* are really signs for syllables composed of single sounds rather than for single letters as distinguished from syllables.

The Nahuas in the pre-Columbian period did not develop the syllabary to the point shown in later times. There are no early texts in the true sense of the word written in the Nahua characters. The Spaniards were

the ones to realize the importance of the syllabary and it is undoubtedly owing to their influence that certain signs are found used in later manuscripts to express certain syllables absolutely for their phonetic value and entirely divorced from the signification of the signs as pictures. Moreover, the Spaniards seem to have used to some extent at least the signs of the Nahuas to express single sounds.

We have already seen the work of the Spanish priests in their endeavor to teach the natives the creed of the Roman Church. In the former example (p. 88) the ideas are expressed quite apart from the sounds of the words. The pictures could be understood quite as well by one people as by another. The missionaries were



FIGURE 15.

not content with this. They desired the Nahuas to learn the actual sounds of the words of the catechism. They took advantage of the ability of the natives to read in signs denoting syllables. The priests selected native words which had the same initial sounds as the Latin or Spanish words which they wished the Nahuas to commit to memory. The signs for these native words were then written in the native manner. The Lord's Prayer is usually given as an example of this kind of writing.¹⁷ A flag (Fig. 15) *pantli* suggests *pa*.

¹⁷ Torquemada, 1723. Book XV, Chap. XXXVI, writes, "El Vocablo, que ellos tienen, y que mas tira à la pronunciacion de *Pater*, es *Pantli*, que significa una como *Banderita*, con que cuentan el numero de veinte; pues para acordarse del Vocablo *Pater*, ponen aquella *Banderita*, que significa *Pantli*, y en ella dicen *Pater*. Para la segunda, que dice *Noster*, el Vocablo, que ellos tienen mas parecido à esta pronunciacion, es *Nuchtli*, que es el Nombre de la que los nuestros llaman *Tuna*, y en España ligo de las Indias; pues para acordarse del Vocablo *Noster*, pintan consecutivamente tras de la *Banderita*, una *Tuna*, que ellos llaman *Nochtli*; y de esta manera vãn prosiguiendo, hasta acabar su Oracion; y por semejante manera hallavan otros semejantes Carèctres, y modos, por donde ellos se entendian, para hacer Memoria de lo que avian de tomar de Coro, y lo mismo usavan algunos, que no confiavan de su Memoria en las Confesiones, para acordarse de sus Peados, llevandolos pintados con sus

A picture of a stone, *tell*, highly conventionalized, stood for *ter*, making *Pater*. A prickly pear, *nochtli*, the fig of the *castus opuntia*, was used for recalling the syllable *nos* and another stone, *tell*, the *ter*, making *noster*. In the same way, (Fig. 16) water, *atl*, stood for an *a* sound and *agave*, *metl*, for *men* making *amen*.

The attempt made by Bishop Diego de Landa¹⁸ to furnish an alphabet for the interpretation of the Maya hieroglyphics, as shown by Valentini (1880), is a "Spanish fabrication" and entirely unworkable when applied to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic writing. The "alphabet" illustrates exactly the same method as that just pointed out. Here Landa chose a native word beginning with the initial sound he desired to



FIGURE 16.

write. A picture or symbol was then drawn to represent this word and this came to stand for the initial sound of the word. The picture of a man's footprint stood for one of the sounds for *b*, the Maya word for road being *be*.

The hieroglyphic writing of the Mayas, however, does not serve as well as that of the Nahuas to illustrate the various steps in the development of writing as a whole. There is far less known in regard to the phonetic components of the Maya glyphs.

Caractères (como los que de nosotros se confiesan por escrito) que era cosa de vèr, y para alabar à Dios, las invenciones, que para efecto, de las cosas de su salvacion buscaban, y usaban."

Las Casas in his *Apologetica Historia de las Indias*, a new edition of which is available (1909), Chap. CCXXXV, writes "Y no sabiendo leer nuestra escritura, escrebir toda la doctrina ellos por sus figuras y caracteres muy ingeniosamente, poniendo la figura que corresponderá en la vox y sonido á nuestro vocablo; así como dijésemos amen, ponian pintada una como fuente, y luego un maguey, que en su lengua frisaba con amen, porque llámanlo ametl, y así de todo lo demas; yo he visto muncha parte de la doctrina cristiana escripta por sus figuras e imágenes que la leian por ellas como yo la leia por nuestra letra en una carta, y esto no es artificio de ingenio poco admirable."

¹⁸ See Landa, 1864, p. 320.

In view of the higher development of the calendar system found among the Mayas, we might naturally presuppose a corresponding higher development of the art of writing and yet Förstemann (1886, p. 2), Schellhas (1886, p. 77), Brinton (1886, a) and Seler (1888) all seem to agree that the Maya hieroglyphics are essentially ideographic with a number of constant phonetic elements which are used only to a comparatively slight extent. Up to the present time a corresponding development among the Mayas of the rebus-form of writing of the Mexicans has not been found. Various elaborate attempts to read the Maya hieroglyphics phonetically have met with failure. Mr. Bowditch (1910, pp. 254-255) sums up the whole question when he writes, "While I subscribe in general to these words (that the writing is chiefly ideographic) of the eminent Americanist (Dr. Brinton), I do not think that the Aztec picture writing is on the same plane as that of the Mayas. As far as I am aware, the use of this kind of writing was confined, among the Aztecs, to the names of persons and places, while the Mayas, if they used the rebus form at all, used it also for expressing common nouns and possibly abstract ideas. The Mayas surely used picture writing and the ideographic system, but I feel confident that a large part of their hieroglyphs will be found to be made up of rebus forms and that the true line of research will be found to lie in this direction. If this is a correct view of the case, it is very important, indispensable indeed, that the student of the Maya hieroglyphs should become a thorough Maya linguist, I am also of the opinion that the consonantal sound of a syllable was of far greater importance than the vowel sound, so that a form could be used to represent a syllable, even if the vowel and consonant sounds were reversed." A further discussion of the hieroglyphic writing of the Mayas would lead us too far away from our subject.

I have not attempted to elucidate any new problems or to add to the knowledge of the writing of the Mexi-

cans, but to co-ordinate and systematize the various forms and employ them as examples of the general development of writing. There is found in Mexico, perhaps to a greater degree than in any other one place in the world, examples of all the different kinds of writing, as we have seen, starting with a preliminary stage of reminders and passing to pure pictures which are used simply in their objective sense as pictures, thence to the more or less conventionalized and symbolic pictures or ideographs and finally to characters expressing sounds as well as ideas, and the beginning of a syllabary, the first step in the development of a phonetic writing, and a step beyond which the Nahuas did not go. The Spanish priests made the last advance toward the goal, the formation of an alphabet, by selecting a few syllabic characters which they used to express the initial sounds. The first credit belongs, however, to the ancient Nahuas who arrived, quite independently, at the idea of the possibility of a phonetic writing, and it is not difficult to imagine a further development into a true alphabet had they been left to develop their culture in their own way.

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THE HULL-EATON CORRESPONDENCE

DURING

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST TRIPOLI

1804-1805

EDITED FROM A LETTER BOOK
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY
BY CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN

PREFATORY NOTE.

It is of interest to Americans to note that the entrance of the United States into world politics dates from an early period in the nation's history. Long before Admiral Dewey sailed into Manila harbor the United States had led the way in settling one of the most vexatious and irritating problems which the commercial world had to face—the treatment to be accorded the corsairs of North Africa who levied tribute on the trade of all nations.

For years Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers and Morocco on the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea had considered that the world owed them a living and had seized cargoes and crews from ships of all nationalities in their effort to obtain payment of this debt. Busied with war and commercial competition among themselves, the powers of Europe including Italy, Spain, Holland, France and England herself—so-called mistress of the sea—had submitted to this marauding or had paid fixed tribute that their own vessels might be allowed to go on legitimate errands in peace. Strange as it appears to us of the twentieth century, not until the new-comer among the nations of the world took the matter in hand was a stop put to the systematized robbery which invested one of the great highways of commerce with the Orient.

In 1797 William Eaton was appointed United States consul to Tunis and in March, 1799, he reached the capital of that nation. For several years he was engaged in an almost constant series of disputes and altercations with the Bey regarding the manner in which American vessels should be treated, and by his tact and resolution

did much to alleviate the burden placed on United States commerce. Later, as Naval Agent to the Barbary States and supported by an American fleet, Eaton took advantage of the revolution in Tripoli in 1804 to force upon the ruler of that country a peace which gave American trade a security such as was granted no other shipping. Although this peace was negotiated by Tobias Lear, the credit of the achievement belonged in large part to Eaton and the naval force supporting him, for Lear, in his negotiations, but weakened the terms the United States might have obtained. As throwing some light on the situation in 1804 and 1805 the following letters passing between Eaton and Isaac Hull are presented. They are contained in a letter book in the manuscript collections of this Society and were given in 1832 by Lt. George S. Blake of the U. S. Navy. The letters date from Dec. 2, 1804, to Feb. 13, 1805, and almost immediately precede the treaty made with Hamet at Alexandria. They are but a small part of the correspondence relating to the Tripolitan war yet they illustrate the American position in North Africa admirably. Two letters of Eaton relating to his preparation of a history of the war are added to the calendar and eight of the more important letters are printed in full that a more comprehensive survey of the situation may be presented.

CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN.

THE HULL-EATON LETTERS.

1804. Eaton, William. Rosetta, [Egypt.] Letter to
Dec. 2. Isaac Hull. Arrival at Aboukir and view of battle-field; entered the Nile, Dec. 1; reception by the British officials; is about to go to Cairo but will return to Rosetta in ten days; hopes Hull will come to see him as he needs latter's advice; suggestions to Hull as to provisions available and men to be trusted. Contemporary Copy, 2pp.

1804. Eaton, William. Grand Cairo. Letter to
Dec. 10. [Isaac] Hull. Reached Cairo Dec. 10; Hamet with the Mamelukes but writer expects to obtain him; will wait ten days for advice from Hamet before descending the river to Rosetta; desires Hull to make provision for payment of money for which he is obliged to draw upon Briggs Brothers. Cont. Copy 2pp.

1804. Hull, Isaac. Rosetta. Letter to William
Dec. 16. Eaton. Acknowledges letter of Dec. 10; will attend to business therein mentioned; for particulars of passage and recent occurrences refers him to John Henry Sieorac; leaves for Alexandria by first fair wind; remembrances to [Presley N.] O'Bannon from all his shipmates. Cont. Copy, 1p.

Lieut. O'Bannon had been detached to lead the American land forces in the expedition.

1804. Eaton, William. Grand Cairo. Letter to
Dec. 17. [Isaac] Hull. Has obtained permission from

French viceroy that Hamet and suite may pass through Egypt and embark at any port; financial matters; can not meet Hull at Rosetta for ten days. Cont. Copy, 1p.

- [1804.] Eaton, William. Grand Cairo. Letter to Dec. 19. [Isaac] Hull. Encloses letters for Navy Department; refers Hull to Sir Alexander Ball for information as to recent events; important men in suite of Hamet; money raised and arrangements made; "if Government should reprove—we will reimburse them from the spoils of Bengazi"; thinks they could take 200-500 men from Egypt. Cont. Copy, 2pp.

Copy is dated Dec. 19, 1805. This letter is printed in full on p. 119.

1804. Hull, Isaac. U. S. Brig *Argus*, Alexandria. Dec. 27. Letter to William Eaton. Acknowledges letters of Dec. 17 and 19; has no means of raising \$4000, the amount desired by Eaton; wishes to see Eaton to make arrangements for passengers latter will have with him as *Argus* can not carry so many; wishes men of ship back. Contemporary Copy. 2pp.

This letter printed is in full on p. 120.

1804. Eaton, William. Grand Cairo. Letter to Dec. 29. Isaac Hull. Is not at ease in making so long a stay in a condition of uncertainty and has no doubt Hull feels the same; has heard nothing from Hamet Bashaw although special couriers have been sent; accounts for this in various ways and continues to think expedition will be a success. Disgraceful behavior of young American officers fighting duels, etc.; formal complaint against some. Dec. 30. Forwards packet for Secretary of Navy: inquires as to sale for a sword and carriage. Dec. 31. Cont. Copy, 3pp.

1805. Eaton, William. Grand Cairo. Letter to
Jan. 3. [Isaac] Hull. Nothing of importance since
writer's letters of Dec. 29, 30 and 31; is more
certain that Hamet is under restraint by the
Mamelukes; Mameluke party approaching
Cairo; American situation the same which-
ever party wins. Cont. Copy, 1p.

[1805.] Hamet, Bashaw Caramalli. [] Letter
[Jan. 3.] to [William] Eaton. Remains true to the
American side of controversy in Africa;
acknowledges letter from Eaton; is about
starting for Behera; has written his subjects
and officials that they may treat with Eaton;
will ratify any conclusions reached; plan of
operations proposed; hopes peace and har-
mony may be re-established. Cont. ms. trans-
lation. 2pp.

Enclosed in Eaton to Isaac Hull Jan. 8, 1805. Printed
Amer. State Papers, Foreign Relations, 2,703.

1805. Hull, Isaac. U. S. Brig *Argus*, Alexandria.
Jan. 5. Letter to William Eaton. Acknowledges let-
ters by [Lt. Richard] Farquhar; latter came
with [Charles] Goldsborough and party; is
anxious to leave and hoped Eaton would have
come in person; if no more information is
obtainable from Hamet advises that ships
return and report to Commodore [Samuel?
Barron;] advises Eaton not to engage [natives
in revolt] with Farquhar at present; is some-
what suspicious of F[rench] interests. Cont.
Copy, 3pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 121.

1805. Eaton, William. Grand Cairo. Letter to
Jan. 8. Isaac Hull. Acknowledges letter of Jan. 5; hopes
to leave Cairo soon but is to try experiment of
interview with Hamet; [Presley N.] O'Bannon
goes with him; considers Hull's plan of return-

ing to Commodore [Barron] a good one; is impressed with Hull's suspicions of F[rench]; feels it a duty to secure honorable peace for the United States; the country should pay no price for release of prisoners nor any tribute for future immunity. Cont. Copy, 1p.

This letter is printed in full on p. 122.

1805. Eaton, William. Grand Cairo. Letter to
Jan. 8. [Isaac] Hull. Received a letter from Hamet after posting earlier letter to Hull; encloses a copy of same; explains locations and considers it probable that Hamet will reach Alexandria before the writer; feels success of expedition is assured; various forces on which reliance can be placed; sends passport of viceroy to Hamet on morrow. Cont. Copy, 2pp.

See Hamet to Eaton Jan. 3, 1805. Eaton's letter is printed: *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 2,703.

1805. Eaton, William. Grand Cairo. Letter to
Jan. 9. [Isaac] Hull. Conditions at present as compared with those set forth in letter of Jan. 8; opportunity for Hull to win glory; needs one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars which he expects to obtain from [Samuel?] Briggs and repay by drafts on Leghorn, Naples or the Navy Department; must make presents before leaving Cairo. P. S. Further conferences with deposed princes; aid expected by Tripoli from Tunis; forces have left Tunis but writer doubts if they are aids to Tripoli. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

1805. Hull, Isaac. Alexandria. Letter to William
Jan. 11. Eaton. Acknowledges letter of 8th; hopes Eaton will secure an interview with [Hamet] and gain information; sends this letter that Eaton (1) may not forget to forward to writer

receipts and vouchers for money advanced nor (2) to make arrangements for Farquhar and if possible disengage him from the party by whom he is surrounded and (3) to give writer another chance to learn if Hamet has been heard from; is convinced that Eaton has made proper arrangements for the expedition planned; expects to leave on Jan. 20. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

1805. Eaton, William. Rosetta. Letter to Isaac Jan. 14. Hull. Left Cairo Jan. 13 and leaves for Alexandria in evening; hopes to meet Hull Jan. 15; presents received from viceroy include "a superb sabre which he intends for you worth \$200"; "all the gentlemen with me received the same compliment." Cont. Copy. 1p.

1805. Eaton, William. Rosetta. Letter to Isaac Jan. 15. Hull. Was prevented by unusual storm from leaving Rosetta as planned; tide up the Nile compels their remaining several days; Hamet on march to lower Egypt "accompanied by a host of Arabs"; latter are eager to aid Hamet in recovery of his kingdom; problem is how to make all forces work together for American profit. Cont. Copy, 1p.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to Jan. 24. [Isaac] Hull. Movements of friendly and opposing forces; communication with Hamet; writer is suspected and watched closely; many English spies; can have Hamet on ground in ten days if desired; requests Hull to secure an escort for that leader from the governor. Cont. Copy. 1p.

Demanhour is in the province of Behera, Egypt.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to Jan. 25. [Isaac] Hull. Sends messenger with horses engaged at Alexandria; Hull's officers remain until he orders otherwise; hopes they may remain until return of messenger sent to Hamet. Cont. Copy. 1p.

1805. Hull, Isaac. U. S. Brig *Argus*, Alexandria. Jan. 26. Letter to William Eaton. Letter of Jan. 24 received too late to secure favor from governor as requested; may succeed later; expects Eaton to do all in his power to expedite departure from Alexandria; expects [Hamet] Bashaw to come when Eaton has arrived; if latter can use naval officers they may remain; news from Derne that a ship loaded with wheat was taken by one of [Yusuf or Joseph Caramalli] Bashaw's vessels to Tripoli. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to Jan. 27. [Isaac] Hull. Acknowledges letter of Jan. 26, with enclosures; dealings with native chiefs; has been assured that Hamet will be on hand in five or six days, that 800 men are ready to march with him and that 20,000 to 40,000 can be secured if desired; is glad for Hull's permission to retain [naval] officers and will keep him informed of all steps taken. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to Jan. 28[?] [Isaac] Hull. Acknowledges letter of Jan. 20; horses sent to Alexandria; is confirmed in opinion that French Commissary regards Americans as English spies; Americans thereby exposed to infamous death. Cont. Copy. 1p.

1805. Hull, Isaac. U. S. Brig *Argus*, Alexandria. Jan. 29. Letter to William Eaton. Acknowledges let-

ters of Jan. 25 and 27; pleased that horses have been sent; general alarm caused at Alexandria by presence of fleet and news that Eaton has raised the American flag; necessity of caution as eyes of everyone including the Governor are upon them; latter complains of flag raising; imprudent for [Hamet] Bashaw to appear with troops; directs Eaton to send in as many of American party as can be spared Cont. Copy. 2pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 123.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to Jan. 29. [Isaac] Hull. Acknowledges letter of yesterday [Jan. 29?]; considers the alarm referred to, and resulting from a few Christian recruits, as coming from French Commissary; considers that Hull has acted wisely but writer has permission from viceroy to take Christians out of country; expects to retain most of them with him; although his instructions have been surpassed all will end well. Cont. Copy. 1p.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to Jan. 29. [Isaac] Hull. Sends translation of letter from Hamet showing conclusively that latter is in alliance with Americans; with Hamet and his Arab following conquest of Derne and Bengazi will be easy and will give honorable terminus to expedition; recruits at Alexandria will be useful; above news left to Hull's discretion to communicate to other Americans. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

1805. Hull, Isaac. Alexandria. Letter to William Jan. 30. Eaton. Acknowledges letter of 28th and two of 30th; pleased to hear from [Hamet] Bashaw; will write further on 31st. Cont. Copy. 1p.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter [to Jan. 31. Isaac Hull.] Acknowledges letter of Jan. 29; American flag "not displayed here, nor has a proposition been made to any mortal to engage in our service since we left you"; no orders given to open enlistment camp at Alexandria; indiscretion of [James] Farquhar; expects interview with Hamet Feb. 2, and hopes to be with Hull in four days; French Consul called writer and companions English spies; directs that letter be translated to the Governor except portion relating to the French. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 124.

1805. Hull, Isaac. U. S. Brig *Argus*, Alexandria. Jan. 31. Letter to William Eaton. No occurrence of importance since departure of Eaton's messenger on Jan. 30: secretary of [Hamet] Bashaw hourly expected; advises an interview at some distance from Demanhour if Feb. 1. Bashaw has large company with him. Consultation with others confirms his opinion that many of Bashaw's followers should not appear with him; acknowledges letter [of Jan. 31] and considers the outlook improved. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to Feb. 1. Isaac Hull. Arrival of Hamet's prime minister and his governor of police at Rosetta; has advised them to proceed to Alexandria with Hamet and place themselves under Hull's protection; hopes latter will see them on the morrow. Cont. Copy. 1p.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to Feb. 2. [Isaac] Hull. Further details as to time of meeting Hamet; expects the Bashaw and

suite to meet Hull on Monday Feb. 4. Cont. Copy. 1p.

Printed: Life of William Eaton; Brookfield, 1813. p. 294.

1805. Eaton, William. Demanhour. Letter to
Feb. 4. [Isaac] Hull. Has followed directions by informing Hamet that he must advance with no more than eight men; has had interview with messenger from Hamet; needs a thousand dollars and requests Hull to arrange matters; warning against sending cash. Cont. Copy. 3pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 125. See also Life of Eaton, p. 294.

1805. Hull, Isaac. U. S. Brig *Argus*, Alexandria.
Feb. 4. Letter to William Eaton. Acknowledges letter of Feb. 4; Governor will not allow more than four persons to accompany Eaton's party entering with Hamet and Admiral will not raise this number to more than six; has collected five hundred dollars to aid in the expedition. (11 p. m.) Authorities will not allow Hamet to enter Alexandria without permission of the viceroy; has desired [Presley N.] O'Bannon to give Eaton particulars of recent occurrences; advises him to continue his efforts with viceroy; has concluded not to send money lest courier be robbed. Cont. Copy. 3pp.

This letter is printed in full on p. 127.

1805. O'Bannon, P[resley] N. [Brig *Argus*, [Alexandria.]
Feb. 7. Letter [to William Eaton]. Letter of date from [Isaac] Hull will give further notes as to Hamet's affairs and the situation in Alexandria; Admiral and Governor at that place defer to opinion of Viceroy of Cairo; refers Eaton to Hull's letter; urges him to obtain terms from Viceroy. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

[1805.] Blake, J[oshua.] Alexandria. Letter to [William Eaton.] [Feb. 12?] Has seen Governor and Admiral and has been given assurance that Hamet may come to Rosetta or Alexandria; courier despatched to Viceroy to secure orders to commanders to that effect; intends to see Capt. [Isaac] H[ull;] will join Eaton again if possible. Cont. Copy. 2pp.

1805. Eaton, W[illiam]. [Demanhour?] Letter to Feb. 13. [Isaac] Hull. Permission secured from Governor for Hamet Bashaw to enter city [Alexandria] next morning; has sent Hull money for Hamet; desires an interview with Hull and [Samuel] Briggs as to expediency of having the Bashaw come into the city. Cont. Copy. 1p.

1807. Eaton, William. Richmond. [Va.] Letter to Aug. 25. Charles Prentiss. Wishes assistance of Prentiss in preparation of his "History of the Tripolitan War"; thinks of establishing a newspaper at Brimfield; asks Prentiss his terms for assistance in first work and for services as editor of proposed paper. A. L. S. 1p.

This letter is reproduced opposite in fac-simile.

1807. Eaton, William. Richmond. [Va.] Letter to Oct. 12. Charles Prentiss. Is to be in Boston much of winter; is preparing to offer his [History of the] Tripolitan War to the public. A. L. S. 1p.

SELECTED LETTERS FROM
THE HULL-EATON CORRESPONDENCE.



Richmond Aug 25th 1807

My Dear Sir,

I desire you will have the goodness to signify to me what sufficient inducements I can offer you to pass a few months with me at my seat in Brimfield, and to assist me in preparing for publication A History of the
Revolition War.

I have also in contemplation the establishment of a new Paper in that village - which - if the encouragement should meet your views I could wish you would edit.

Write me, I pray you, at this place and duplicate at Brimfield - And, as you love me, keep these propositions secret -

I am, Dear Sir, faithfully
and respectfully yours
Wm. Eaton

M. Cho. Prentice.

SELECTED LETTERS FROM THE HULL-EATON CORRESPONDENCE.

William Eaton to Isaac Hull.

Sir: GRAND CAIRO, Decem^r. 19th, 1804.

The letters herewith enclosed for the Navy department, and Sir Alexander Ball, will explain everything I have done or noticed since I saw you, which either you or they have a right to be concerned about.

The interest Major Missett has taken in the success of our expedition entitle him to every confidence. I have no objection but on the contrary a wish, that you should shew him these communications. He is too contious of the justice of the grateful things I have said of him, to suspect me of adulation. If it were not so, acquaintance would satisfy him that I dont deal in that article.

I have this afternoon discovered two other important characters in the suite of Hamet Bashaw, I have no doubt that we may take three to five hundred men from Egypt. Provision must be made for an hundred. I have taken up a thousand dollars of M^r. Marcharl to be reimbursed to Mess^{rs}. Briggs Brothers and advised you we shall have need of four or five thousand more. If Government should reprove our arrangements we will reimburse them from the spoils of Bengazi, which I already calculate upon as ours. Nothing will hinder but unforeseen disaster.

I am Sir, with respect,

faithfully Yours,

Cap^t. HULL.

WILLIAM EATON.

If occasion offers to forward the letters to Malta and the United States before you sail, beg you will put them under proper seals and additional covers.

Isaac Hull to William Eaton.

United States Brig Argus.

Sir:

ALEXANDRIA, Dec^r. 27, 1804.

I have been honored with your letters of 17th & 19th Instants. the former of which however did not come to hand till the 20th the latter with the accompanying letters came to hand through the hands of Major Missett some days past. I had previous to receiving them placed in the hands of Mess^{rs}. Briggs one thousand dollars to meet your draft on them. You inform me that most likely you will want four of five thousand more; if so God knows where we shall get it unless you have the means at Cairo, or Rosetta, for I know of none here. I am anxious to see you that we may make arrangements for the passengers you say you shall have with you, for it will be necessary to hire or purchase some other vessel to carry them in, as the Argus will not carry provisions and water for that number for any length of time, and I should suppose it would be proper to make those arrangements before they are promised a passage, for fear we may disappoint them after they arrive here. I hope on your arrival at Rosetta you will send the gentlemen forward as fast as possible. The purser is wanted, and the other gentlemen had much better be on board than remain at Rosetta for I assure you I am ashamed of receiving their civilities without any chance of returning them, they are too good. I left with M^r. Patruchi for you, a trunk, dressing case, sword, and hat, and for M^r. Farquhar a cask of wine, which I hope he intends for the Major.

Our friends Mess^{rs}. Briggs are well, and I as sure you we spent a very merry Christmas with them drinking success to your party &c. I pray you will make my respects to the Major and family—

And believe me, to be,

Your friend & Humb^e. Serv^t.,

W^m. EATON, Esq^r.

ISAAC HULL.

P. S. I hope to see the party with you and very soon.

Isaac Hull to William Eaton.

Sir:

United States Brig Argus,
ALEXANDRIA, Jan^y. 5th, 1805.

I have been honored with your letter by M^r. Farquhar, who has this moment arrived with M^r. Goldsborough and the party, I must confess I am very anxious to leave this, and was in hopes of having the pleasure of seeing you with them, in fact nothing prevented my writing to you at Cairo, but the probability of your leaving there before my letters would arrive—I am unhappy that appearances are so much against our getting any information from the Bashaw, as we have been so long here and not able to gain the least intelligence from him, I fear that something stands in the way that we are not acquainted with, and I expect that we will find that to be the case. In fact I am lead to believe that F[rench] interest is the cause. I shall send this by express, and should you not learn any thing further by the time you receive it, I should suppose it would be either proper to abandon the expedition & get from this as soon as possible, or for you to remain here, and the Argus to return with such information as you may have for the Commodore: What your prospects of success are &c^a. which will enable him to furnish you with every thing proper for the expedition, or give us such assistance as he may think necessary. At all events it is time to determine on something soon, for it is impossible for us to remain here long, and have a sufficiency of provisions to carry us down, and you well know if they were to be purchased we have not the means —

I have paid your draft on Mess^{rs}. Briggs for one thousand dollars, and am indebted to them about that sum for the brig's expences since we arrived here, which is daily increasing without any means of paying as yet. Should you be in want of any more money, I should suppose it would be more proper for you to draw on the State or Navy Departments, as you may be authorized, and to prevent your accounts interfering with the brig, as I do not think I have any authority to draw any money for any other purposes than paying her disbursements, and no doubt you have authority to draw money for other purposes.

Should you determine to remain here and go in search of the Bashaw, it will be well for you to let me know as soon as you

can, that I may make arrangements accordingly, and leave this as soon as possible, as it will certainly be improper for me to remain here, while you make the experiment, for most likely I shall have time to go down and return before you arrive at this place. Your letters have gone by Cap^t. Thorn, who sailed from hence on the 28th Ult^o., and has since had a fair wind, so that most likely they will soon hear from us.

By your letter you do not say that you have absolutely engaged those people, that came with M^r. Farquhar. If so I think it would be well not to do it at present, but to have them and as many more as can be found in such a situation that they can be collected in a short time without making any further promise than to employ them if you should leave this by land, as they will be only lumber on board a ship.

Should you give up the idea of going in pursuit of our friend, and still wish to remain some time longer in this country to try to hear from him [I ask] whether it would not be best to return to this place, as you will hear from him nearly as soon if not sooner than at Cairo, and we should both be on the spot to act as we might think best. Add to that so large a party at Cairo for such a length of time will be imposing on the goodness of our friends.

I am sure you will pardon the hints I have given in this letter, when you look at the situation we have come here in, the many obligations we are obliged to be under to our friends, and the uneasiness it must necessarily give me, and I am confident your own feelings will not allow you to look back upon their goodness --

Please make my compliments to your party and believe me

Your sincere friend and well wisher,

WILLIAM EATON Esq^r.

ISAAC HULL.

William Eaton to Isaac Hull.

Sir:

GRAND CAIRO, Jan^y. 8, 1805.

Yours by express of 5th Inst^t. came this morning, I had previously resolved to leave Cairo Friday next, but if no direct information come from Hamet Bashaw in the mean time, I shall put the project of an interview with him upon the experiment.

It is certain that 10 days ago he was spoken with in company with Elsi Bey. Your suspicions of F[rench] interest strike impressively; Your plan of returning with communications to the Commodore is certainly judicious. My dispatches in detail will go by Fridays occasion in conformity to that plan. M^r. O'Bannon will enterprize with me the tour of the desert. We shall have three dangers to encounter; a danger of robbery and assassination by the wild Arabs; a danger of falling into the hands of the Arnaut Turks and being murdered as enemys; and danger of being executed as spies by the Mameluke Beys. If we surmount these perils we shall have carried a point and gained an object.

If we fail of success you will do us the justice to believe us martyrs to a cause in which we feel the honor and interest of our country deeply involved: Release of our prisoners without ransom, and peace without the disgraceful conditions of tribute,-

I am Sir, very respectfully

Yours most truly,

Captain ISAAC HULL.

WILLIAM EATON.

Isaac Hull to William Eaton.

United States Brig Argus,

ALEXANDRIA, Jan^y. 29th, 1805.

Dear Sir:

Your letters of 25th & 27th came safe to hand. I am happy that you sent forward the horses, but yet you will see by my letter of the 28th that it is the wish of the Governor of this place, that the party return. I have this day been with him to try to do away his fears, but find that he is as much alarmed as ever. He informed me that the Chief of the Village where you are had written to the Tiftidor who had lately arrived from Constantinople, informing him that you had hoisted the American flag at Demanhour, and that we were recruit^d. at Alexandria, and that our object must be something more than getting the Bashaw. In fact there seems to be a general alarm. I have as I wrote you discharged the men here, and on our visit to the Governor found two of them under examination, but got them released immediately, together with the keeper

of the house where M^r. Farquhar stayed. He had been put in prison and in chains, after I left the house yesterday, but every thing is at present quiet, yet I fear something may happen to prevent their remaining so long.

You will see by what has happened that it is necessary to act with great caution, for the eyes of every body are upon us. The Governor complains very much of the flags being hoisted, as it appeared at once like enlisting men &c. and I must confess he had some grounds to found his suspicions upon, after the letter to the Tiftedor had been sent to him, and what had taken place though unseen by us.

Should you find the Bashaw approaching with a number of men about him, it will certainly be imprudent for him to come near under the present circumstances, for fear of alarming the people more. It will therefore be necess^y. to send and meet him, and fix on some place to see him, if possible at a distance to the Westward. In fact take what steps you may, I fear the peoples ignorance will prevent them from seeing our object. I hope you will take the earliest oppertunity to send in such of the party as can be spared, and if you want an escort when you are ready to come we can apply for one from this place. I think from what has passed to day, it will be proper not to show our flag any more, as that seemed to be the grand object with the Governor. I hope in God, you will take such measures as will prevent our having any difficulty with this Government, and that we shall finally convince them that nothing has been done without their knowledge. Pray let me know what steps you take as often as may be, and be assured I will give you every information from here---

In the mean time believe me,

Y^r. Friend and Obed^t. Serv^t.

WILLIAM EATON Esq^r.

ISAAC HULL.

William Eaton to Isaac Hull.

Sir:

DEMANHOUR, Jan^y. 31st, 1805.

Yours of 29th came at 12 O'Clock today. The American flag has not been displayed here, nor has a proposition been made to any mortal to engage in our service since we left you. We

have indeed showed our flag but only in our room, and only by way of discrimination. As to recruiting at Alexandria, let the Governor be informed that M^r. Farquhar never had orders to *open a Rendezvous* there, though I thought it would be violating no rights of hospitality to permit him to enquire if there were any Christians without employ there, who would be willing to enter our service against the Bashaw of Tripoli to be ready at our departure. Had M^r. Farquhar followed my instructions we should be spared all this difficulty, but even now suspicion will end when truth is known.

We have but three men with us besides our servants and I expect an interview with Hamet Bashaw day after tomorrow. It seems needless to go to the expence and trouble to make two detachments on returning. We shall be with you I hope in four days. I have written the Vice Roy concerning our recruiting, explained to him candidly my object, and have taken on myself the intire responsibility of the measure. Indeed I have asked his permission to take those people away if necessary. I am on good terms with the Ker Chief, have proposed to him to send back the party, but he says it is unnecessary. He confessed to me yesterday that the French Consul had occasioned all this embroil, and that he had in fact denounced us "*British Spies.*" He shall have his hour, be tranquil. Sir, truth is almighty, the more we are examined the better for us.

Yours Respectfully

WILLIAM EATON.

P. S. Translate this to the Governor except what relates to the Frenchman—

William Eaton to Isaac Hull.

Dear Sir:

DEMANHOUR, Sunday Feb^y 4th, 1805.

By express of yesterday I stated to you my arrangements concerning the two ministers of Hamet Bashaw at Rosetta. Although I have not yet received an answer to my letter from this place by the Arab Chief, I am assured in positive terms by the Ker Chief of this village that an answer cannot be delayed more than two days longer. It would seem hardly possible

that the Bashaw would lose this opportunity of an interview, but should it so happen, and my messenger returns without him, I am intirely with you in opinion of the Brigs returning with you to the rendezvous. I have anticipated your ideas concerning the impropriety of the Bashaws approaching the Turkish frontiers with a force, and have given instructions to my messenger to signify to him that he can advance with his *suite only* which are not to consist of more than eight men. Am not confident he will yield to these terms for it appears his jealousy and suspicion with those of his Turkish brethern are reciprocal.

3 O'Clock P. M. I had just turned this period in answer to your last, when a messenger from Hamet Bashaw entered my apartment, and to convince me that he was not an imposter he put into my hands my first letters to the Bashaw from Alexandria of 30th. November. This was a fortunate occurrence because it assured the Bashaw of our high respect for the grand Seigneur, and cautioned him against any step which might go to compromit our good intelligence with that Sovereign, and it having an Arabac translation on the back I went with it to the Kerchief, who bye the bye is a fierce savage Turk, but a good General. This at once did away all suspicions. He took me by the hand for the first time, complimented my candour, and invited me to ride out and dine with him at his camp. This messenger was followed by several Arabs who kept in the back grounds, till they knew whether they might enter with safety, Accompanied by the two Maltese whom I dispatched secretly from Cairo. One of the Arabs is a servant of the Bashaw and accompanied him on his route towards this place as far as Terene. He will be in Demanhour to morrow, and Wednesday morning we shall set off for Alexandria. The Bashaw has only his suite with him consisting of about forty persons which gives no uneasiness to the Ker Chief. On the contrary he has offered us an escort to secure our passage to Alexandria and will go out with me himself tomorrow to accompany our friend into Demanhour.

I shall want a thousand dollars to clear out from this, and request you will arrange the affair with M^r. Briggs so as to send them safely and if possible in marboobs. This sum I hope and

trust will put an end to our expences of this sort, and it certainly will to our danger and anxiety. If the hazard of sending cash should be thought to great, I must pledge my credit with these people till I arrive with you. On reconsidering I shall wait your answer to this express, before I start from this place—

I beg Sir, You will accept my Congratulations
and Assurance of Respect and Esteem

Cap^t. HULL.

WILLIAM EATON.

N. B. I give the courier who carries this letter one marboob, and promise him four if he return tuesday with an answer, and a parcel. I have serious doubts of the propriety of sending cash, unless you can pack it away in some articles of my wardrobe. The courier engages to bring my old Toledo Sword. I shall have need of it, as I intend this I have with me for the Bashaw.

Isaac Hull to William Eaton.

United States Brig Argus,

Dear Sir:

ALEXANDRIA, Feb^y. 4th, 1805.

Your letter of 4th, came to hand at 12 – this day, but owing to the Governors being engaged we could not see him until nearly four in the afternoon, when M^r. Briggs and myself called on him to know what number of men he would suffer to enter the town with you. He would not consent that more than three or four beside your party should accompany you and the Bashaw, but at the same time wished to consult the Admiral. M^r. Briggs and myself went with him to the Admiral, whom we found rather in a bad humour. After making known to him our visit, he agreed with the Governor that three or four were as many as could be allowed to pass through the gates with you, but after talking the matter over and on our leaving him he consented to suffer six beside your party to pass the Cut, and said he would give orders to that effect to the officer commanding at the Cut. Should the Bashaw bring more with him than the eight you mentioned, he had better leave them at Demanhour, until you arrive here, and perhaps we shall be able to obtain permission to get the whole of them on board.

Whilst M^r. Briggs and myself were with the Governor, I had men out collecting small money to send you. It appears they have only collected five hundred dollars, which I hope will answer your present purposes, had they collected more I should think the risk to great to send the amount by one Courier; should the five hundred not be sufficient, I will send the remainder by another Conveyance, the sword I do not send, for fear it might be an inducement for the Arabs to plunder the Courier of both Sword and money,--

I am, D^r. Sir, Yours &c^a,

WILLIAM EATON, Esq^r.

ISAAC HULL.

11 at Night— I sent M^r. O'Bannon on shore with this letter to M^r. Briggs to be forwarded by the courier, but it appears when he got on shore, that the Governor and Admiral had sent for M^r. Brigg's dragoman to inform him that they had changed their minds, that although they had consented to suffer Hamet Bashaw to pass with six men, they would not allow him to enter Alexandria without the Vice Roy's permission, and that they had sent off an express to the Vice Roy to know whether he would be allowed to pass. In fact I have desired M^r. O'Bannon to state to you what passed at the Admirals, between him and M^r. Briggs. I had forgot to mention to you that the Governor produced a letter which he said was from the Vice Roy, limiting the number of men to two or three, that were to be allowed to enter Alexandria with the Bashaw, but it appears that M^r. Briggs offered to confine them to the Vice Roy's letter, but they refused, so that it is possible no such letter has been sent from him.

I am happy you have wrote the Vice Roy and hope you will receive a favourable answer from him, as then you will be beforehand with the courier they have sent off, but I think it will be necessary to write him again, to do away any difficulties they may make, or any objections they may state to the Bashaws leaving this. If you can place him in a Situation to be safe, it will be proper by all means that you come to this place as soon as possible, and bring with you the Vice Roys firman, and such other papers as you may have, to do away the suspicions that have gone out against us. If the Bashaw

will not part with you, it may be well to send the firman by M^r. Blake, or some safe conveyance; or if he will remain with M^r. Blake and let you come here, I have no doubt but we shall be able to convince them, that we have conducted with uprightness and candour. From what I have stated you will perceive it is necessary something is done very soon. You will be astonished to see the sudden change in our affairs, but we must be patient until we can convince them that they have been led away by intrigue.

If any thing further should happen I shall take the earliest opportunity to inform you. I have not sent the money as things have taken such a change, I was fearful of the couriers being stopped.

Yours Truly

I. H.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 18, 1911, AT
THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

The annual meeting of the Society was called to order by President LINCOLN in the new building, at 10.30 o'clock, on Wednesday morning, October 18, 1911.

The members present were:

James Bryce, Edward H. Thompson, Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis, Edward H. Hall, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis, Frederic W. Putnam, Daniel Merriman, William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, George E. Francis, James P. Baxter, A. George Bullock, William E. Foster, Charles Francis Adams, Francis H. Dewey, Calvin Stebbins, Henry A. Marsh, William DeL. Love, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Arthur Lord, William R. Livermore, Waldo Lincoln, Edward S. Morse, George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, William Lawrence, A. Lawrence Rotch, Samuel Utley, Benjamin T. Hill, Albert Matthews, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William MacDonald, Clarence W. Bowen, Clarence S. Brigham, Frederick L. Gay, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Franklin P. Rice, Worthington C. Ford, George L. Burr, William C. Lane, Julius H. Tuttle, Wilfred H. Munro, Justin H. Smith, Henry W. Cunningham, Frank F. Dresser, Albert B. Hart, Shepherd Knapp, George F. Dow, Homer Gage, Henry A. Parker, John S. Bassett.

The Secretary read the call for the meeting.

The records of the April meeting, as printed in the Proceedings and distributed to the members, were ordered approved without reading.

The Report of the Council, which was prepared by Andrew McFarland Davis, and the Reports of the Treasurer and of the Librarian, were read and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Messrs. Cunningham, Rotch and Garver were appointed a committee to collect and count the ballots for President of the Society. All the members present having voted, the committee reported the election of WALDO LINCOLN.

President LINCOLN, in thanking the members for his election to a fourth term, said:

The Society begins its hundreth year with this beautiful, convenient, and thoroughly fireproof building, a building worthy of the splendid collection of Americana which has been accumulating for a century through the wisdom of our founder, the enthusiasm of our members and the industry and foresight of successive librarians. If the late sale of the Hoe library is a criterion, it will be hardly an exaggeration to place the value of the collections in this building at from one and a half to two million dollars—a value which seems to justify the large sum which has been expended for its safe keeping. I had hoped that at this meeting I might be able to report large additions to our endowment, the necessity for which becomes the more apparent as the increase of facilities shows what the Society might accomplish did means permit.

Do you gentlemen realize that there is no Society just like this in this country? No! not in the Americas! The whole western hemisphere is its field in its chosen specialties, its collections are unequalled and it offers the use of all its treasures freely to the historian and the student. The Society is too distinguished, its library and its work too important to be allowed to languish for lack of funds. Worcester has done its share. Time and money have been given freely by its citizens and this beautiful building, like its two predecessors and the greater portion of its valuable contents, are due to

the generosity and devotion of the Worcester members. Is it unreasonable now to ask others to take up a portion of the burden? Or is there any reason why the Society may not appeal as confidently to the philanthropist as any educational institution in the land? I trust, gentlemen, that you will not allow the centennial of this splendid Society to pass without placing it on a substantial financial basis to the end that its second century of existence may find it at the head of the great historical Societies, not only in America, but in the world.

Messrs. S. A. Green, Dow and Lane were appointed a committee to nominate the other officers of the Society. The committee reported the following list of officers, and a ballot having been cast, they were declared elected.

Vice-Presidents:

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston, Mass.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge,
Mass.

Councillors:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester,
Mass.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, R.I.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, LITT.D., of Portland, Me.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B., of Worcester,
Mass.
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, LITT.D., of New
Haven, Conn.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln, Mass.

Recording Secretary:

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, A.M., of Providence, R. I.

Treasurer:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester,
Mass.

Committee of Publication:

FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE, of Worcester, Mass.

GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D., of Worcester, Mass.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, of Dedham, Mass.

Auditors:

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH, of Worcester, Mass.

The President, after announcing that the committee appointed on the celebration of the Centennial would report in April, stated that the meeting would proceed to the reading of the papers announced on the program.

GEORGE L. BURR, LL.D., of Cornell University, read a paper called "The Place of New England in the History of Witchcraft."

The President stated that the next paper on the program was "The Ruins of Tiahuanaco, Bolivia," contributed by Adolph F. Bandelier, of New York City, but that since Mr. Bandelier was unable to be present, the paper would be read by title only and would be printed in full in the Proceedings. Mr. Winship referred appreciatively to Mr. Bandelier's work, and expressed the regret of the Society that the writer of the paper was unable to attend the meeting.

The President remarked that the Honorable James Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States and one of the foreign members of the Society, had visited Tiahuanaco, and might say a few words regarding those wonderful ruins.

Mr. BRYCE addressed the Society as follows:

Mr. President and gentlemen:—

Though I cannot well say much about the ruins of Tiahuanaco, as you have not had the advantage of hearing the paper of Mr. Bandelier, I am grateful to you, Mr. President, for calling upon me to speak to-day because you give me an opportunity of thanking the members of the Society for the great honour which they conferred on me sometime ago in electing me to be one of its foreign members. I appreciated that honour very heartily at the time and I appreciate it even more fully now when I have had the advantage of learning more about the work of your Society and its antiquity and the long line of distinguished men who have been its members. Let me congratulate you sincerely upon your coming into occupation of this admirable building, which is in so many respects a model of what the home of an historical society and its library should be. Its plan and proportions somewhat remind me of two of the famous buildings which make the glory of the ancient city of Ravenna. In some respects it recalls the Tomb of Galla Placidia in that city, and in some the noble church of San Vitale, although of course its internal decorations are entirely different. Let me wish for this building and this Society as long a history as that Tomb and that Church have enjoyed and let us hope that the city of Worcester will never decline, like Ravenna, into a state in which it has little to live upon except its memories.

As regards Tiahuanaco I will only venture to say this, that having paid a visit to it just a year ago, I was greatly struck by the evidence it furnishes of the immense antiquity of a semi-civilization in the great central plateau of the Andes. It is an extraordinary place in respect to the space that its ruins cover and the proof it supplies of the vast labour expended on constructing its edifices. Everything points to the existence of a race which possessed great skill in the cutting and polishing of the hardest stone, and which was able to form large and impressive plans of architectural design. One is struck by the fact that these buildings must have long antedated the great so-called Inca civilization of Cuzco; and one is inclined to conclude that there had been successive monarchies dominant in the central plateau of Bolivia and Peru before the times to which the early Peruvian traditions carry us back.

Did time permit I should have been very much tempted to have referred to the extremely interesting paper of Mr. Burr to which we have listened with so much pleasure. The phe-

nomena of witchcraft to which he referred find not a few parallels among the Indian tribes of South America where the medicine man or wizard still flourishes and carries on his gainful profession no longer in the terror of being either hanged, drowned or burned. The last conversation that I ever had with the greatest American historian of this generation, the late Mr. Henry C. Lea, was upon the subject of the book he was then writing upon witchcraft, and although he had not gone very far in the actual writing of the book, he had accumulated a mass of material bearing on this curious subject, much of which may, I hope, be utilized by his literary executors for the benefit of historical students.

Let me thank you again, Mr. President, for your kindness in permitting me to express my thanks to the Society and assure you that English historical students have been following, and will continue to follow, with the liveliest interest the work which you and other historical societies are doing in this country. We hope and trust that when any of you desire to follow out researches in England you will give us—and I will speak in particular for the historical section of the British Academy—the opportunity of meeting you and of rendering any assistance we can to you in the prosecution of your enquiries. It is a pleasure to feel that we are all labouring together in hearty co-operation, Americans and Englishmen, in the pursuit of historic truth, as in many other fields.

WILLIAM MACDONALD, of Brown University, then read a paper on "Some Bibliographical Desiderata in American History."

The President announced that after the program had been arranged and it was found that Mr. Bandelier could not be present at the meeting, he had asked one of the foreign members of the Society, Mr. Edward H. Thompson, of Merida, Yucatan, to address the Society; that Mr. Thompson had prepared a paper on "A Kindlier Light on Early Spanish Rule in America," but, since the time of the meeting had expired, the paper would be read by title only and printed in the Proceedings.

The President then read the following communication from Mr. Thompson, presenting to the Society a rare collection of photographic reproductions of the Chichen-Itza ruins of Yucatan:

*To the President of the American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.,*

DEAR SIR:—

I take great pleasure in offering for acceptance by the Society, if it so desires, the first prints of the photographic series that I am now commencing to publish.

The present series, as the description that accompanies the prints indicates, has as its subject the ruined group of Chichen-Itza, the oldest and largest center on the Peninsula of Yucatan of that mysterious building race, now called the Maya. It also includes male and female types of the present Maya natives, probably the descendants of those ancient builders.

These prints are made on special platinum paper, and are therefore as permanent as science can make them at present. The coloring has been carefully and faithfully done by a well known water-color artist of Boston.

As fast as others are published, the first perfect prints will be forwarded to the Society.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

October 17, 1911.

It was voted to refer the various papers to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting then dissolved.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,

Recording Secretary.

After the meeting, the members of the Society were entertained at luncheon by the President, at his house on Elm street.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

One year ago the Society met for the last time within the walls of the old building on Court Hill. Our present domicile was at that time practically completed and a portion of our possessions had already been transferred thereto. Inadequate and unlovely as the old building was, those members of the Society who habitually attended the Worcester meetings will always retain pleasant memories of the cheerful room occupied by the librarian in which they were accustomed to exchange friendly greetings before and after the exercises of the day, and will not easily forget the homelike and distinctly antiquarian aspect of the hall within which those exercises were held, furnished as it was with our old provincial or colonial chairs, the gifts of friends of the Society. The utter unfitness of the Court Hill building for our purposes, and the responsibility which we incurred through the continuous exposure of our collections while therein to irreparable loss by conflagration would be reasons enough for congratulating the Society upon the occasion of holding its first regular meeting in the commodious, fire-proof structure in which we are now assembled. There may be some, however, who still feel sentimental regrets that the treasured associations with our old home could not have been preserved through improvements and alterations of the building of such a nature as to permit the continued occupation of a site so admirable for our purposes. If by chance there are any such, a mere glance at our environment to-day will convince them that the members of the Society must in time become attached to this beautiful hall, with its charming surroundings, and will wonder that there could

have been any regrets to alloy the pleasure of our occupation of the new building.

The test of a year of actual use has demonstrated the wisdom of the move, and has confirmed our confidence that the forethought of the various experts who had under consideration the plans of the building had made ample provision for the disposition of our books, papers and documents, and had successfully grappled the problem of placing them under easy control, ready for submission to students who should desire to consult them. We have but to look about us to see under what favorable circumstances investigators may carry on their researches here, comfortably provided with adequate facilities for work in a room, the beauty of which both in proportion and in contrasts of color becomes more and more impressive the longer it is inspected.

Externally, it is thought by some, that the striking differences between the white marble of the dome, the white columns, the white trimmings, and the red bricks of the wall, leaves much to be desired, but it is to be assumed that the dust and smoke of the nearby city will ameliorate these defects and that the modifying of the tints of the external colors will ultimately permit the looker-on to realize the excellent proportions of the building without his attention being distracted by this temporary assault upon his love of harmony.

The transfer to the shelves of the stack and the arrangement thereon of our books and papers, and the deposit in suitable receptacles of our manuscript collections has brought the whole of these accumulations of years for the first time within easy reach of workers, and has revealed in many instances unexpected wealth. Our librarian reports, for instance, that the large collection of maps which was deposited in the library of this Society by the New England Historic-Genealogical Society has proved to be of much value, supplementing the maps already belonging to the Society in many interesting directions. For the first time for many years we know with approximate accuracy what we have and

what are the lacunæ which ought to be filled. The services of Mr. Brigham in bringing about this condition of affairs in a quiet, unobtrusive, and economical manner are entitled to recognition.

The Council has met with a loss during the year which, even though mitigated by the fact that it was not unexpected, was nevertheless deeply felt by all of us since it involved the rupture of strong, personal friendships based upon profound respect, and ripened by long association. The person of Charles Augustus Chase was familiar to most of our members through his service as recording secretary of the Society, but only those who were brought in contact with him under circumstances where they could profit by his counsel, could realize the value to an administrative body, of his prudent, cautious temperament, and the careful, deliberate movements of his mind. Never carried away by passion, always faithful to his ideals; the servant of truth and the champion of honor; loyal to the Society and always to be relied upon to look out for its interests, we shall miss his presence and we shall feel the want of his advice. Hereafter we can only enjoy in memory the dry humor with which he occasionally characterized a situation or emphasized a point. A conservative rather than a progressive, strong in defence rather than conspicuous as a leader in assault, the Council could always rest assured that they could not commit serious error if they listened to him. Mr. Samuel S. Green has undertaken to contribute to our necrology a sketch of his life and career.

At the October meeting of the Society in 1908, Mr. Henry H. Edes offered the following vote which was duly carried:

Voted: That the Council of this Society be requested to confer with the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society with a view of securing the proper editing and publication of all the manuscript diaries of Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, the greater part of which, if not all, are owned by the two Societies.

The matter was duly taken up and at the April meeting of this Society next ensuing, the Council reported as follows: As a result of the correspondence with the Massachusetts Historical Society, a committee from this Society consisting of Messrs. Andrew McF. Davis, George P. Winship and Clarence S. Brigham has been appointed to confer with a committee from the Historical Society consisting of Messrs. Charles Francis Adams, Nathaniel Paine and Barrett Wendell with reference to the publication of the Mather Diaries.

The questions of how a joint publication by the two Societies should be carried on, how the expense should be divided and how credit should be given to each Society for its share in the work were not easy to answer. The nature of the material demanded chronological arrangement and this involved a mixing up of the diaries in possession of the two Societies, so that if they were put forth in the collections of the one Society and the Transactions of the other there would be a duplication of published matter, the necessity of which is absolutely uncalled for and the value of which as historical material would not furnish justification.

Fortunately for the success of the proposed scheme the committees appointed by the Councils of the two Societies were in entire accord in their desire to secure the carrying out of the project and were respectively willing to concede minor points where concession was essential. The harmonious co-operation of Mr. Brigham, upon whom devolved much of the preliminary work in this affair on the part of our Society, and of Mr. Worthington C. Ford, the appointed representative of the Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was also absolutely essential, and credit should be given to them for making possible a solution of some of the troublesome questions which arose during the progress of the discussion.

As a result of this introductory work, the Historical Society generously undertook to print all the Cotton Mather diaries and to furnish enough copies to the Anti-

quarian Society to make sure that one should reach each member of this Society. On the other hand, the Antiquarian Society resigned its claim that the joint publication should appear in its series of published collections.

The diaries of Cotton Mather of which we have knowledge cover dates extending from 1681 to 1724 inclusive, a period of forty-three years. The diaries which have been preserved contain the record of events, or emotions, which occurred during twenty-six of these forty-three years. The manuscript of each year is separately stitched and constitutes a volume by itself. Sixteen of them are to be found in the Massachusetts Historical Society, nine in the Antiquarian Society and one in the Congregational Library. The whole, when published, will fill two volumes, the first of which, a book of 604 pages, is already out. The second volume will have about 800 pages. The diaries contain psychological rather than historical matter and would have but little value were it not for the prominence of the man, the activity of his career, and the influence that he exerted during life.

The Cotton Mather diaries being thus disposed of there remains to be discussed what shall be done with those of Increase Mather. The twenty-six volumes of the Cotton Mather diaries were legibly written upon small-sized sermon paper. Increase made use of almanacs, many of which were interleaved but all of which were small in size. The entries in the several books are not necessarily confined to the year of the particular almanac in which they are made, one or two of them having extra leaves bound in both at the beginning and end of the volume. The seventeen almanacs containing these entries furnish a partial record covering at least twenty-three or twenty-four years of Mather's life. The extreme limits of the dates of the various entries extend from 1665 to 1721 inclusive. Sixteen of these almanacs belong to this Society. The Massachusetts Historical Society owns one and has already printed the contents of that volume. The entries throughout the set of diaries are necessarily compressed, abbreviations and

abridgments being made use of, the whole resulting in a skeleton record of the daily avocation and of the reading or study of the man, without much regard to outside matters. Take a single page of the published diary. It presents the record of nineteen days. This record contains twelve entries which read "studyed sermⁿ," two "prpd for lect," three "prpd for sabbath" and gives the titles of eight books which Mather was reading on certain days. There are one or two brief references on this page to current events which might prove interesting if they were more than mere references.

At the present time the Massachusetts Historical Society is overloaded with publication work and the Antiquarian Society has as much on hand as it can attend to. The committees having the publication in charge will undoubtedly be met in their claim for immediate attention with the answer on the part of both Societies that the matter cannot be taken up at present and it is quite possible that we shall ultimately be obliged to content ourselves with a descriptive paper prepared by some person appointed for the purpose, which will embody all extracts from the Increase Mather diaries of such matter as is of general interest.

When the requisite number of the first volume of the published diaries of Cotton Mather was furnished us by the Historical Society as a part of the transaction above described we were confronted with the question: What shall be done with these volumes? This Society has never furnished its published collections free of charge to its members. If we should receive these books and then sell them the net result would be that whatever sum we should receive for them would be practically a payment by the Historical Society for the privilege of publishing some of our manuscripts. The impropriety of this led at once to the conclusion that the volumes received from the Historical Society should be distributed among those members of this Society who were not, through their membership in the Historical Society, already in possession of a copy.

The discussion caused by this proceeding raised doubts in the minds of the Council whether it would not actually be for the pecuniary benefit of the Society as well as for its general reputation to pursue the policy of many other societies engaged in kindred work and distribute among our members, publications of our collections as they come out. The result was that at a meeting of the Council held September 14, it was voted that volumes 11 and 12 of the Transactions, and all future volumes, be distributed without cost to members who are not in arrears to the Treasury. In connection with this movement to secure a wider distribution of our publications those having in charge the sale of the earlier volumes of the so-called Transactions have issued a circular announcing that these volumes can now be secured at reduced prices. The title, "Transactions," given to them is an inheritance and is misleading. They belong more properly to the class of publications usually denominated "Collections." We have already abandoned the title, "Archæologia Americana," a relic of the early part of last century, and it may be that some way may be found to furnish a more suitable binder's title than "Transactions." Perhaps the word, "Publications" itself is comprehensive enough to include past and future. On this point the Council would be glad to hear at some future time expressions of opinion from members of the Society.

Volumes 11 and 12 of the Transactions have already passed into the hands of the members of the Society. The first of these volumes was referred to and described in the report of the publication committee included in the Council report last April. The contents of the volume, though miscellaneous in character, are nevertheless of great value as sources of information and must be regarded as a distinct contribution toward the history of a comparatively unknown subject. As for the Royal Proclamations in volume 12 of the Transactions, it will be admitted by all historical students that this volume contains information much of which is available in no other form than by personally consulting the archives

at the Record Office in London, information furthermore of such a character that it cannot be neglected by any student of American History of that period. Ultimately the volume must find its way upon the shelves of every library in America that pretends to maintain an equipment adequate for research in American history.

We have to congratulate ourselves that affairs have moved so smoothly in our new building and that we have adapted ourselves thoroughly in our every-day life to our new situation. The greater the facilities provided for the use of our material, the greater will be the advantage taken of these provisions, and it will undoubtedly be found that our expenses will increase. The wise forethought that sought to provide a fund for this has not as yet realized a success of which we ought to boast. Our membership is not composed of Carnegies and Rockefellerers. We must, therefore, base our hopes upon outside support. While we gratefully acknowledge the generous gifts already received, we must rest our hopes largely on aid to be derived from others through members and we would especially appeal to citizens of Worcester who ought to take pride in the fact that the *American Antiquarian Society* is located here, that it has contributed to the attractions of the place a beautiful hall, and that it maintains a library which is open to the world for consultation.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE.

Charles Augustus Chase was born in Worcester, September 9, 1833. He was descended from William Chase, who came from England with Winthrop, the founder of Boston, in 1630, bringing the surname derived from the French, *chasser* (to hunt), from the ancestral seat, Chesham, Buckinghamshire, near the river Chess.

Mr. Charles A. Chase's grandfather married in Smithfield, the center of Quaker influence in Worcester, and his father, Anthony Chase, married Lydia Earle, the daughter of Pliny and Patience Earle, and sister of the late Hon. John Milton Earle, of the celebrated Quaker family of Leicester, in 1819. Mr. Charles Chase retained affiliation with the Society of Friends until his death, supporting ministrations and making a liberal contribution toward the erection of its new meeting-house, although probably not approving entirely of some of the developments of the Society in Worcester. He was inclined towards the beliefs of the Hicksite portion of the Society of Friends.

Mr. Chase's father, Anthony Chase, in 1829 became the first local agent of the Worcester and Providence Boating Company, an organization which managed the Blackstone Canal. He was secretary of the Worcester Mutual Fire Insurance Company from 1831 to 1852, and afterwards its president, occupying that position at the time of his death, August 4, 1879. He was County Treasurer from 1831 to 1865 and held other offices of public trust and private responsibility.

Mr. Charles A. Chase, after going through the lower grades of the public schools in Worcester, graduated from

the Thomas street grammar school in 1845 into the new Classical and English High School. After passing through the regular classical course in that school, he remained another year to take a somewhat extended course in mathematics.

He entered Harvard College in 1851 and was graduated in 1855, receiving the degree of Master of Arts in 1858. Among his classmates were Phillips Brooks, Alexander Agassiz, Frank B. Sanborn, our associate, Dr. John Green, ophthalmologist, and, for the short time that he remained in college, Henry L. Higginson, banker and liberal giver. Mr. Chase was intensely interested in the affairs of the College and when the Harvard Club was afterwards formed in Worcester became its second president.

By invitation of his friend, Mr. Charles Hale, editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, he joined the staff of that paper in 1855 and filled the position of reporter in the various departments and of office editor for seven years. During this time he reported for the paper Lincoln's famous speech at Gettysburg.

In 1862 Mr. Chase made a five-months' tour of Europe, seeking rest, and on his return was led by family considerations to take up his residence again in Worcester.

In the autumn of 1864 he was elected County Treasurer, succeeding his father, and held the office for eleven years. In 1875 he was chosen Register of Deeds and served during the centennial year of 1876. He was soon after elected secretary of the Worcester Board of Trade.

In 1879 Mr. Chase wrote a history of Worcester for the county history published by C. F. Jewett & Co. of Boston. Although the work was done in a limited time, there was incorporated in it considerable matter which was the result of original research and had never before appeared in print. Later, for Hurd's History of Worcester County he wrote chapters on the newspaper press in Worcester and on banking and insurance in that place, and still later an historical sketch of the Worcester National Bank issued in connection with the

centennial anniversary of the establishment of that institution.

In 1879 he served as treasurer and manager of the Worcester Telephone Company. The Western Union Telegraph Company was one of the stockholders. After spirited competition with the Bell Telephone Company which had established a rival exchange, the Telegraph Company and the Bell Telephone Company entered into a kind of partnership covering the whole country and the two Worcester exchanges were merged into one, the Worcester gentlemen selling out their stock.

On November 10, 1879, Mr. Chase was elected treasurer of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, succeeding Mr. Charles A. Hamilton who died in office, and in 1904 was promoted to the presidency of the institution as successor to Stephen Salisbury. This office he resigned in 1908 on account of ill health.

He was influential in the affairs of the city. He was secretary of the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association from 1863 to 1866; vice-president, 1867-68, and on the lecture committee from 1866 to 1880; a director of the Public Library from 1868 to 1874; director of the Citizens' National Bank from 1880 to 1889, and of the Worcester National Bank from January, 1888; director of the Merchants' and Farmers' Fire Insurance Company from 1883. He was trustee and treasurer of Memorial Hospital, corporator of the Worcester Art Museum, and an active member of the governing board of the Old Men's Home. He was, also, commissioner of the sinking funds of the City of Worcester. He was president of the North End Street Railway Company, which established a suburban line that was finally absorbed by the Worcester Consolidated Railroad Company.

For a history of Mr. Chase's connection with the American Antiquarian Society and for a list of the important offices which he held in it, as well as of the papers which he contributed to its Proceedings, see the report of the memorial meeting of the Council of the Society held immediately after his death.

He was a member of the New England Historic-Genalogical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and The Worcester Society of Antiquity. He was also a member of the St. Wulstan Society and of the Worcester Fire Society.

Mr. Chase for most of his life was connected with a newspaper, following in the footsteps of his father who from 1823 to 1835 was associated with John Milton Earle in the ownership of the *Worcester Spy*. Mr. Charles Chase while in the High School published a boys' paper called "The Humble Bee," and, as stated before, from 1855 to 1862 was employed on the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. For about 25 years he was associated with Mr. Charles H. Doe, who had also been employed on the *Advertiser*, in ownership of the *Worcester Gazette*.

Mr. Chase married, in Boston in 1862, Mary Teresa Clark and is survived by their two children, Mary Alice who is the wife of Thomas H. Gage, Jr., and Maud Elisa Chase whose home was with her father. He left, also, a sister, Miss Sarah E. Chase, and a half-sister, Mrs. J. Russel Marble.

Mr. Chase died June 5, 1911, from the last of a long series of hemorrhages of the brain which extended through a period of more than 5 years. He was in his 78th year.

Mr. Chase was always regarded as a man of perfect integrity and had the confidence of all his associates. It was noticeable that he was especially trusted by the poor. He was a public spirited and useful citizen and was a quiet, generous and constant giver in charity. He was a man of earnest convictions, but slow to criticize. He was always thoughtful in speech and action.

He was a man of good business judgment and conducted faithfully and successfully all the interests that he was called on to guard, rendering acceptable service in whatever occupation he was engaged. His business positions were not those in which the need of initiative is conspicuous but those in which he was mainly guided by regulations, but such were the fidelity and precision

which he displayed in the discharge of his duties that his services were always valuable.

Mr. Chase was a delightful companion, interested in general affairs and especially in facts of local history. He imparted much information in a pleasant manner. He was naturally social, genial and witty, often irresistibly droll. He had a wide interest in art and literature. He was a noticeably fine scholar in the Latin and Greek classics and retained his interest in these branches of study throughout life. He was an authority in regard to the history of Worcester and had a passion for accuracy in regard to facts and in regard to speech and written expression.

S. S. G.

PROCEEDINGS AT A
SPECIAL COUNCIL MEETING, JUNE 7, 1911, REGARDING
THE DEATH OF MR. CHARLES A. CHASE.

Present: the President, Messrs. Paine, Utley, Engler and Rugg.

The President announced that the meeting of the Council had been hastily called to take action upon the death of Charles Augustus Chase. He gave a sketch of Mr. Chase's long connection with the Society, stating that he had been elected a member in 1880, had served as auditor from 1880 to 1887, on the committee of publication from 1882 to 1906, as recording secretary from 1894 to 1906, on the finance committee from 1901 to 1906, and upon the Council from 1884 until his death.

After remarks by Mr. Paine and Judge Utley, it was voted that Mr. Samuel Swett Green of the Council should be asked to prepare a minute regarding Mr. Chase, to be spread upon the records.

In response to this request Mr. Green prepared the following minute:—

A sketch of the life of Mr. Chase will appear in the Proceedings of the Society among the notices prepared under the supervision of the Biographer. This is the time to speak of his services to the Society and of those qualities which made it so pleasant for us to meet with him as members of the Council.

An account of the offices which Mr. Chase has filled in the Society has been given by the President. A list of his papers and other literary contributions to its Proceedings will be found at the end of this notice.

During the twelve years of his occupancy of the position of Secretary, he did the work required faithfully and acceptably; the papers which he presented to the Society were always interesting and important.

The most noteworthy services of Mr. Chase, however, were those which he as a member of the Committee of Publication rendered during the twenty-four years that he held that position. He was a man of great accuracy of expression and a fondness for details. These qualities together with his long and conscientious work in responsible positions on the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and his interest from boyhood throughout life in the preparation of articles for the newspapers made his services on that committee as a critical editor of the Proceedings very valuable.

Mr. Chase's personal and social characteristics were of a high order. Of good judgment and firmness of opinion he yet yielded readily to superiority in argument. A man of extensive and exact information regarding local and historical facts and of interest in affairs general and special, his part in conversation was always interesting and made exceedingly pleasant by his kindness of heart, conciliatory attitude and witty speech. His droll sayings were irresistible.

The Society has lost, by the death of Mr. Chase, a warm friend; the Council, a wise and delightful companion.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROCEEDINGS.

In April, 1887, in a report of the Council, "Some great charitable trusts of Great Britain."

In April, 1897, also as a portion of a report of the Council, "Some great trusts in the United States."

In April, 1899, in a report of the Council, "The Boston meetings of the American Antiquarian Society."

In April, 1901, as a portion of the report of the Council, "Land titles of the American Antiquarian Society."

In October, 1901, and October, 1907, additional statements regarding the land titles of the Society.

In October, 1896, an account of his attendance, as a delegate from the Society, at the laying of the Memorial Stone of the Robinson Memorial Church at Gainsborough, England, June 29, 1896.

In October, 1891, "William Lincoln, a biographical sketch."

As portions of the reports of the Council in October, 1892, April, 1894, April, 1896, and October, 1899, obituaries of several members of the Society.

CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT.

Carroll Davidson Wright died in Worcester, February 20, 1909. He was born in Dunbarton, New Hampshire, July 25, 1840, the third of seven children. His father was a Universalist minister and his ancestors on both sides had for generations lived in New England. He was educated in the public schools and academies and, at the age of twenty, began the study of law in an office, supporting himself by teaching rural schools. In September, 1862, he enlisted in the Fourteenth Volunteer Regiment of New Hampshire as a private, but was rapidly promoted and in two years, at the close of the Shenandoah Campaign, he became colonel of his regiment. Overwork and illness forced him to resign in the spring of 1865, when he engaged in business in Lynn. On January 1, 1867, he married Caroline E. Harnden, and soon after began the practice of law in Boston, specializing in patent cases. In 1871 and again the next year he was elected from Reading, Massachusetts, to the state senate where he was made Chairman of a committee on Insurance and Military Affairs. Here he began his advocacy of Civil Service Examinations. Two years before, the Legislature had established a State Bureau of Statistics and Labor, and in May, 1873, Colonel Wright was made its head. In connection with his work here, the Massachusetts ten-hour labor law was enacted and public sentiment was turned in the direction which afterwards brought about the inspection of factories, child labor laws, etc. Under his administration, the Bureau was not partisan but devoted merely to the promotion of labor legislation. The decennial census of 1875 was undertaken by it and other statistical investigations begun and a wide range of topics discussed. Colonel Wright's reputation grew rapidly and he was much in demand as lecturer and author. So success-

ful was the Massachusetts Bureau under his direction that the state urged a national bureau and in 1885 Colonel Wright was nominated and in 1888 made its head. From this period his career is of national importance and is well known. The function of the Bureau as he conceived it was the proper education of the masses in the elementary facts of political and economic science and his reports for twenty years at Washington are mines of information. He was the counsellor of several Presidents, the director of the eleventh census and an important arbiter in several of the greatest labor troubles that the country has seen, beginning with the Pullman Strike in 1894 in Chicago and ending with the great Anthracite Coal Strike in 1902, which involved 147,000 mine workers. Various states beginning with Pennsylvania in 1872 followed the example of Massachusetts in establishing bureaus of statistics and labor and in all these the influence of Colonel Wright was strongly felt. For twenty years, ending in 1905, he was president of a national association of these bureaus and had much to do in shaping their policy.

During the later years of his life in Washington, the disease which ended in his death made his work increasingly hard. The invitation to organize Clark College made it possible for him to return to Massachusetts under very congenial conditions. Although not himself a college graduate, his highly scholarly temperament, his wide experience and his sound judgment enabled him to organize a new academic institution unhampered by traditions where young men, in the terms of the founder's will, are to be educated for citizenship and their work in life. He made it a hard working academic democracy, without social distinctions or class enmities, governed by a high standard of honor, loyalty and courtesy.

High as were his attainments and eminent as was his career and great as were his services, his ideals, as H. G. Wadlin well says, were always in advance of his achievements. His influence in this state extended far beyond the college. As a member of the State Board of Edu-

cation, he conducted one of the most important reports ever made, the indirect results of which have led to the reconstruction of the board in a way to do justice to the industrial aspects of education. He was also made Professor of Statistics and Economics in Clark University in 1904, Trustee of the Carnegie Institution from its foundation in 1902, was president of the American Unitarian Association for three years ending 1899, member of various learned societies in this country and abroad, holder of the LL.D. degree from five colleges or universities, member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, wearing its cross. For a bibliographical list of his chief writings, see the Quarterly of the American Statistical Association for September, 1909, new series No. 87.

Colonel Wright's career was quite different from that which he originally chose. Incalculably great as his public services became, he would doubtless have been no less eminent had he chosen a judicial career. In personality he was genial and pleasing, very rarely making enemies and unusually endowed with common sense and tact. The range and versatility of his capacities and interests were amazing. Not only on nearly every important social and political topic, but on many religious, educational and special themes he has placed himself on record in a luminous and helpful way. The fact that in successive administrations and amidst repeated changes of parties in Washington, Colonel Wright was able to keep his Bureau not only out of politics but free and independent of all other government institutions is itself a tribute to his tact and sagacity.

Colonel Wright became a member of the American Antiquarian Society in 1893. Absorbed with other activities and in declining health, his only contribution to the Society was a paper on Labor Organizations in Ancient, Medieval and Modern Times. Besides his intellectual gifts and attainments, he was a genial companion and friend and as such will be remembered by all among us who knew him.

G. S. H.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer presents his Annual Report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending September 30th, 1911, and a statement of the investments of the Society.

The Assets October 1st, 1911, are \$484,915.85
and are invested as follows:—

Bonds	\$241,569.00
Stocks	36,968.00
Mortgage loans	15,100.00
Real Estate	184,900.00
Cash on hand	6,378.85
	<hr/> \$484,915.85

Of this amount, \$481,977.74 represents the principal and \$2,938.11 the unexpended income October 1st, 1911. This latter sum stands credited to the income of the various funds.

The Centennial Fund has been increased during the year by the following gifts:—

Austin S. Garver	\$ 100.00
Francis H. Dewey	2,500.00
Thomas W. Balch	100.00
Charles C. Smith	50.00
William Lawrence	100.00
Albert Matthews	25.00
William E. Foster	25.00
William Beer	10.00
Charles P. Bowditch	100.00
Arthur H. Church (4 guineas)	20.33
Samuel Abbott Green	100.00

The new building and land cost \$184,900.00 and all bills in connection therewith are paid.

We had an unusual item of income during the year, \$514.29 unearned Fire Insurance premiums returned.

After the completion of the building the President did not advise further insurance. This was applied to charging off the bond premium account \$583.85.

Our securities are carried at book or cost value and this value in most cases, is less than the actual market value. There has been no change in our list except that \$2,000 City of Quincy and \$1,000 Crompton & Knowles Loom Works bonds have matured, and there has been purchased 2 Shares of Worcester Gas Light Company and 3 Shares of Worcester Trust Company stock.

A. G. BULLOCK, *Treasurer.*

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Assets October 1, 1910.....		\$478,322.06
Principal received since October 1, 1910.		
Life Membership Fees.....	\$ 200.00	
Sale of books to Cr. Purchasing Fund.....	270.00	
Purchasing Fund income added to principal	132.85	
Austin S. Garver for Centennial Fund....	100.00	
Francis H. Dewey " " "	2,500.00	
Thomas W. Balch " " "	100.00	
Charles C. Smith " " "	50.00	
William Lawrence " " "	100.00	
Albert Matthews " " "	25.00	
William E. Foster " " "	25.00	
William Beer " " "	10.00	
Charles P. Bowditch " " "	100.00	
Arthur H. Church " " " (4 Guineas)	20.33	
Samuel Abbott Green " " "	100.00	
Income Special Gifts added to principal	22.50	
	<u>\$3,755.68</u>	
Expended for books from Purchasing Fund..	100.00	\$ 3,655.68
		<u>\$481,977.74</u>

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Unexpended Income, October 1, 1910.....	\$3,673.86	
Income from Investments.....	14,390.84	
Assessments.....	450.00	
Unearned Fire Ins. Prem. returned.....	514.29	
Sale of Books.....	246.19	\$ 19,275.18
		<u>\$501,252.92</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Incidental expenses	\$ 248.02	
Salaries.....	7,570.00	
Treasurer & Office Expense.....	534.79	
Light, Heat, Water & Telephone.....	753.61	
Supplies.....	216.65	
Books (Less \$100 charged to Purchasing Fund)	2,739.99	
Publishing.....	1,842.53	
Binding.....	316.75	
Repairs on Furniture & Paintings.....	49.27	
Rent of Newspaper Room.....	50.00	
Moving Expense.....	1,122.51	
Care of Grounds.....	153.75	
Bond Premium account charged off.....	583.85	
Income transferred to principal.....	155.35	\$ 16,337.07
		<u>\$484,915.85</u>
Assets,		

ASSETS OCT. 1, 1911.

Bonds.....	\$241,569.00	
Stocks.....	36,968.00	
Mortgage Loans.....	15,100.00	
Real Estate.....	184,900.00	
Cash on hand.....	6,378.85	\$484,915.85
Unexpended balances, Oct. 1, 1911		\$ 2,938.11
Principal, Oct. 1, 1911.....		\$481,977.74

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

Fund	Principal	Unexpended Income 1910	Income 1911	Expended 1911	Balance for 1912
Alden	\$ 1,000.00	\$ 95.00	\$ 50.00	\$ 145.00	
Bookbinding	7,500.00	351.95	375.00	316.75	\$410.20
George Chandler	500.00	.92	25.00	22.89	3.03
Collection & Research	17,000.00	1,130.16	850.00	1,965.53	14.63
Isaac & Edward L. Davis	20,000.00	138.73	1,000.00	811.42	327.31
John & Eliza Davis	4,900.00	9.12	245.00	191.61	62.51
Francis H. Dewey	4,800.00		240.00	212.19	27.81
Geo. E. Ellis	17,500.00	116.55	875.00		991.55
Librarians' & General	35,000.00		1,996.19	1,996.19	
Haven	1,500.00	.22	75.00	66.76	8.46
Library Building*	184,900.00				
Life Membership	2,950.00	123.75	147.50	248.02	23.23
Lincoln Legacy	7,000.00	78.32	350.00	82.53	345.79
Publishing	32,000.00	160.00	1,682.53	1,842.43	
Salisbury Legacy	105,600.00	27.19	5,280.00	4,788.81	518.38
Tenny	5,000.00	25.00	250.00	275.00	
Benjamin F. Thomas } Local History	1,000.00	1.49	50.00	45.36	6.13
Frances W. Haven	2,000.00	105.00	100.00	205.00	
Purchasing†	2,689.91		132.85	132.85	
Charles Francis Washburn	5,000.00	225.00	250.00	475.00	
Centennial	15,665.33	249.26	772.99	823.17	199.08
Eliza D. Dodge	3,000.00	67.50	150.00	217.50	
Hunnewell	5,000.00	112.50	250.00	362.50	
Special Gifts	*472.50		22.50	22.50	
Salisbury Bldg. Fund (Transferred to Library Bldg.)		656.20		656.20	
	\$481,977.74	\$3,673.86	\$15,169.56	\$15,905.31	\$2,938.11

* This fund represents the consolidation of the Library Building Fund, Salisbury Building Fund, Salisbury Mansion Fund and a part of the Salisbury Legacy Fund.

† Income added to principal.

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

BONDS.	PER CENT.	PAR.	BOOK.
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co.	4	\$11,000	\$11,000
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. . . .	4	2,000	1,540
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. . . .	4	1,000	885
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	3½	5,000	4,637
Boston & Maine R. R.	3½	5,000	4,593
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	4	2,000	2,000
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	4½	8,000	7,960
Baltimore, Md., City of.	4	15,000	15,000
Boston, Mass., City of.	3½	15,000	14,325
Brockton, Mass., City of.	4	2,000	2,000
Chicago, Ill., City of.	4	8,000	8,000
Duluth, Minn., City of.	4	2,000	1,940
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. . .	4	5,000	5,000
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. . . .	5	9,000	9,000
Chicago, Indiana & Southern R. R. . .	4	12,000	10,920
Congress Hotel Co.	6	5,000	5,000
Ellicott Sq. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.	5	5,000	5,000
Fitchburg R. R.	3½	10,000	9,300
Illinois Central R. R.	3½	2,000	2,000
Jersey City, N. J., City of.	4	5,000	4,931
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill Ry. . . .	5	7,000	6,570
Lynn & Boston Ry. Co.	5	1,000	1,000
Marlboro & Westboro Ry. Co.	5	1,000	1,000
Memphis, Tenn., City of.	4	5,000	4,887
Middletown, Conn., City of.	3½	5,000	4,700
New York, City of.	4½	20,000	20,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.	4	10,000	10,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.	3½	50	50
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.	6	2,200	2,189
Old Colony R. R.	4	3,000	2,970
Omaha, Neb., City of.	4½	15,000	15,000
Penobscot Shore Line R. R. Co.	4	5,000	4,943
Pere Marquette R. R.	4	5,000	5,000
Quincy, Mass., City of.	4	2,000	2,000
Seattle Electric Co.	5	5,000	5,000
Southern Indiana R. R.	4	2,000	2,000
Union Pacific R. R.	4	500	450
Waterbury, Ct., City of.	4	10,000	9,600
West End St. Ry. Co.	4	1,000	1,000
Wilkesbarre & Eastern R. R.	5	2,000	2,000
Woonsocket, R. I., City of.	4	12,000	11,179
Worcester & Marlboro St. Ry. Co. . . .	5	3,000	3,000
Worcester & Webster St. Ry. Co.	5	2,000	2,000

 \$241,569

Shares	Stocks.	Par Value.	Book Value.
20	Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$ 2,000	\$ 2,000
11	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R....	1,100	687
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston..	3,200	3,200
6	Fitchburg National Bank.....	600	600
50	Fitchburg Railroad Co.....	5,000	5,000
35	Mass. Gas Light Companies (Pref.)...	3,500	2,900
68	N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....	6,800	8,450
30	Northern R. R. (N. H.).....	3,000	3,000
3	Old Boston National Bank.....	300	300
11	Old South Building Trust (Pref.)....	1,100	981
30	Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000
16	Webster & Atlas National Bank.....	1,600	1,800
25	West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250
12	Worcester Gas Light Co.....	1,200	1,600
16	Worcester National Bank.....	1,600	1,600
6	Worcester Trust Co.....	600	600
		<hr/>	<hr/>
			\$36,968

MORTGAGE LOANS.

J. Burwick, Worcester, Mass.....	\$ 2,100
L. L. Mellen, Worcester, Mass.....	1,500
B. F. Sawyer, Worcester, Mass.....	3,500
J. P. Sexton, Trustee, Worcester, Mass.....	8,000
	<hr/>
	\$15,100

REAL ESTATE.

Library Building	\$184,900
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The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1911, have been examined by W. Thane Boyden, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct and properly vouched is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed) BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
HENRY A. MARSH,
Auditors.

October 2, 1911.

WORCESTER, MASS., Oct. 2, 1911.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1911, and find same to be correct and properly vouched.

(Signed) W. THANE BOYDEN,

Accountant.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

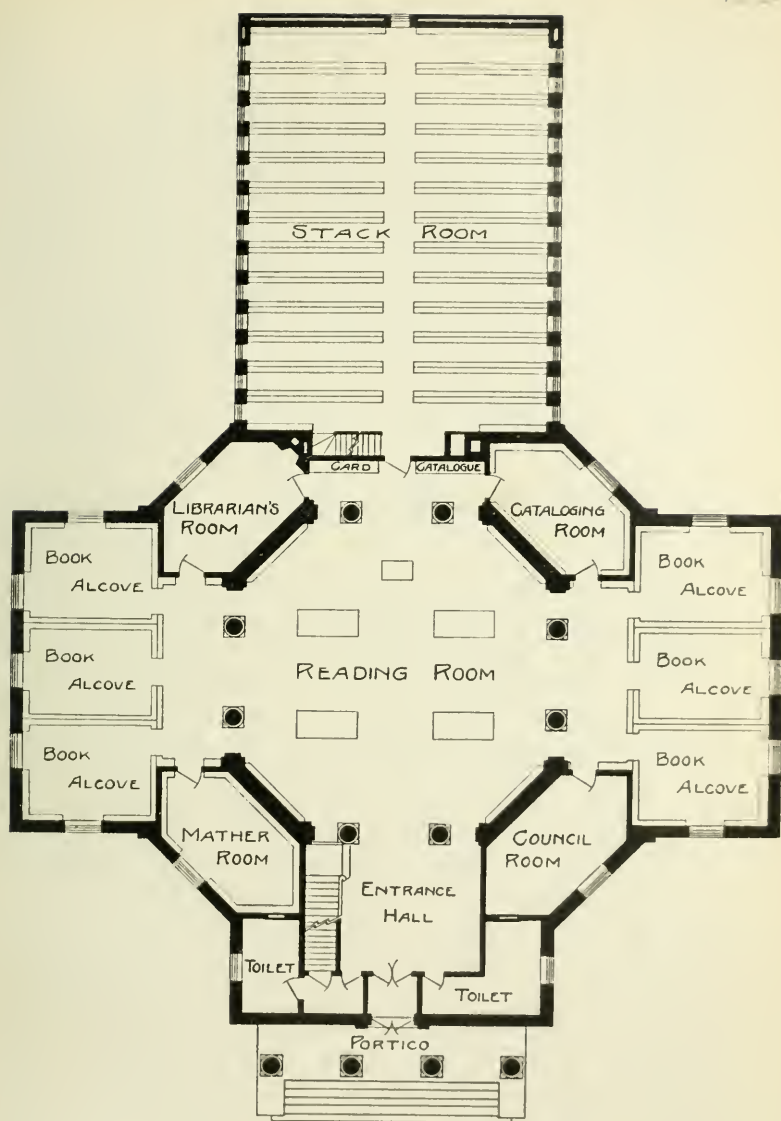
The most important feature of the work in the library during the past year has been the process of moving the collections into the new building. Only twice before in their history, in 1820 and 1853, had the volumes been subjected to such a thorough shaking-up. Preliminary to the moving, every book was taken from the shelf and dusted by the vacuum-cleaning system; the miscellaneous newspapers were arranged by states and tied in bundles; many of the photographs and engravings hanging on the walls were taken from the frames and placed in the collection of engravings; and the miscellaneous pamphlets, some fifty thousand in number, were rearranged into three comprehensive divisions. The first load of books, consisting of two tons of bound newspapers, left the building on December 5, 1910. The first book to be taken into the new building was a volume of Alabama newspapers, emphasizing, as it happened, the national character of this great collection of the journals of the various states. Day after day, for two months, the moving vans of the Worcester Storage Company were employed in taking from old Antiquarian Hall its century's accumulation. Because of the nature of its collections, it was no easy task to move such a library as this. Pamphlets, maps, broadsides, engravings, portraits, examples of colonial furniture—all of which we possess in large number—do not lend themselves to such easy handling and orderly transfer as do the well bound volumes usually comprising the stock of the average library. Yet, thanks to the carefulness of the persons employed, nothing was broken, and so far as we know, nothing was lost. The last load was duly placed in the new building on February 2, 1911.

A brief description of the rooms in the new building, in which the Society meets for the first time to-day, will best show how the collections have been placed and arranged. The rotunda room, or reading-room, is forty feet in diameter and is furnished with four large reading tables. In the cases around this room is shelved the Society's collection of family histories and genealogical reference works. This has been done for two reasons, chiefly because this class of books is most frequently asked for by strangers and visitors, and furthermore because it contains the fewest rarities and books which could not be replaced.

The four rooms grouped around the central room are the Council Room, the Mather Room, the Librarian's Room and the Cataloguing Room. The Council Room and the Librarian's Room have no book shelving, but contain several examples of colonial furniture which are made useful as well as ornamental. In the Cataloguing Room will be shelved the main portion of the bibliographical collection. The Mather Room contains two notable groups of books—the Mather Library and the collection of American Bibles. In this room, moreover, behind wire gratings, are placed the Mather tracts and the rare books.

The alcoves in the two wings are given over to special collections, thus perpetuating one of the interesting features of the old Library. In the west wing, the entire three alcoves are devoted to state and town history, comprising about 10,000 volumes. In the east wing is the Civil War collection, the Spanish-Americana, and the collection of catalogues of libraries and of booksellers. Each alcove is provided with a reading-table and two chairs and the electric chandeliers are constructed so as to light either the table or the room as a whole.

The second floor is virtually a replica in design of the ground floor, excepting the rotunda room which occupies the full height of the building. On this floor the entire east wing is occupied by the Manuscript Room, one of the largest rooms given over to such a purpose in the



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

country. With its steel cases and its walls of cement and brick, it offers the best possible depository for the many thousands of rare manuscripts which the Society possesses. The room is 40 by 22 feet and has 562 running feet of shelving. The west wing contains the Map and Print Room. This room, 27 by 22 feet, is designed for the storing of maps, broadsides and engravings, and is equipped with narrow sliding drawers for large maps and engravings, and upright filing cases for small engravings. The drawers are all fitted with dust flaps and should house a collection of 30,000 pieces. In the same wing is an almanac room, 22 by 11 feet, with 326 running feet of shelving. On this floor are also the Exhibition Rooms, and the consulting rooms for newspapers and manuscripts.

In the basement are the Bindery and the Proceedings, Duplicate, Janitor's, Unpacking, Storage and Boiler Rooms. Here also is the settling chamber into which fresh air is brought and the dust allowed to settle before being introduced into the main rooms above.

Extending from the rear of the main building and connected with it by door-ways on the basement floor, second floor, and fourth floor levels, is the stack. It has five floors, or "decks," each 53 by 44 feet and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with 24 double and four single cases, 18 feet long, on each floor. The stack is of the so-called "Standard" construction, with slotted uprights, built by the Art Metal Construction Company, of Jamestown, N. Y. It has 27,000 running feet, or over 5 miles of shelves and is said by the officials of that company to be the largest stack of its type in New England. At one end is an hydraulic book-lift built to carry a load of 800 pounds. The floors are of glass. The windows in the stack are all of prism glass and are sealed, in order to admit a minimum of dust. A system of fans and ventilators provides for the change of air.

The arrangement of the books in the stack is largely temporary, although the intention is to have those most frequently used shelved upon the second floor level.

At present, the school-books, state and city documents, college catalogues, directories and government documents are shelved on the first floor; the early imprints and the main collection of books, omitting all the special collections, on the second floor; and the miscellaneous pamphlets, the institutional and society reports, and the collection of American periodicals on the third floor.

On the two upper floors are shelved the newspapers, of which the library has one of the most notable collections in the country. The fourth floor contains the papers of Alabama to Massachusetts, and the fifth floor those from Michigan to Wisconsin, with the papers of Canada, Mexico and Spanish America. Here the shelving is all horizontal, consisting of rollers supported by a strong framework, with vertical rolling-pins on the sides to keep the volumes from rubbing against the uprights. The capacity of these two newspaper floors is about 12,000 volumes. The fourth floor of the stack is on the same level as the second floor of the main building, from which it is separated by a fireproof door. The newspaper consulting-room is therefore within close reach of the newspaper shelves.

The card catalogue, consisting of 340 trays, is situated at the entrance of the stack, between the Librarian's and the Cataloguing Room. It is worthy of comment that this catalogue, the key to the library, is not only in close proximity to the administrative rooms, but is within sixty feet of the majority of the books. In fact one of the chief features of the building is its compactness and convenience.

The general effect of the interior is both dignified and pleasing, largely due to the lofty, domed central room, to the unusually beautiful columns of Siena marble, and to the quiet but effective color scheme, which throughout is in soft shades of gray. All the new furniture, which was especially designed by F. H. Bacon of Boston, is mahogany. The floors are covered with cork carpeting, thus insuring quiet. The lighting, especially in the dome, is strikingly effective, and the

lanterns at the entrance, as well as the wall lights, are modeled after colonial designs.

The building fully suits the needs of a library largely devoted to special collections, and should easily provide for the growth of twenty years, at the end of which time additional book-stacks can be constructed in conformity with present plans. The total number of running feet of shelves in the whole building is 33,400, or over 6 miles of shelves. If calculated at eight volumes to the foot, this would mean a total capacity of 267,000 volumes, or at ten volumes to the foot a capacity of 334,000 volumes. But since two tiers of the stack, about 10,000 running feet, are given over to newspapers, the library may be said to have a total capacity of 250,000 volumes.

As might be assumed from the above account of the transfer and installation of the collections in the new building, a large amount of time has been spent in effecting the transition. Yet the routine work of the library has been carried on and few opportunities have been let pass to acquire desirable volumes which we lacked. The total number of accessions has been 2904 bound volumes, 2115 pamphlets, 192 miscellaneous pieces, such as maps, engravings and broadsides, and 2145 unbound early newspapers. A list of donors is appended to this Report.

The collection of the productions of the early American press, to the year 1820, has received 1,571 additions. It has required a search through hundreds of auction and dealer's catalogues, and an examination of many consignments of books, to glean what we lacked. Among the more important titles noted in the accession-book are the first American edition of Shakespeare's works printed at Philadelphia in 1795-96; two sermons by Cotton Mather, the *Fisher-man's Calling*, and *Awakening Thoughts on the Sleep of Death*, both printed in 1712; the *Chronicon Ephratense*, printed at Ephrata, Penn., in 1786; the *Independent Whig*, published by Samuel Keimer at Philadelphia in 1724; and a broadside *Manifesto* issued by the King's Commissioners, October

3, 1778, seeking to quiet the "disorders subsisting in certain of the colonies in North-America," printed by Rivington at New York. The library is so rapidly increasing in this field of American imprints as to become a clearing-house of information for those interested along such lines of research. A bibliographer of national reputation, in referring to a comprehensive search which we had made for him in the printed literature of the United States of the period succeeding the Revolution, writes: "The result justifies liberally your estimate of one-third of everything printed in the United States, and largely outnumbers any other library in the world in the possession of works of this period." This pleasant commendation is not referred to in any boastful spirit, but merely by making known our strength, to encourage others to use it.

There have been no important sales of early almanacs during the year, and as a result but 258 of these interesting little publications have been added to the library, among the more valuable being a series of the Pennsylvania German almanacs from 1746 to 1799, and a collection of early western almanacs. Thirty recent family histories have been acquired for the genealogical collection. The early school literature has been enriched by over a hundred of the school-books of the first half of the nineteenth century, the gift of Miss Alice H. Bushee of Woonsocket, R. I., as well as by the purchase of a few rare imprints of an earlier period.

The additions to the newspaper collection have been constant, exactly 64 bound volumes and 2145 unbound issues of journals prior to 1870 having been acquired. Among the more important files are the *Washington Federalist*, 1801-1803, the *Kennebunk Weekly Visitor*, 1811-1822, the *Essex Journal and New Hampshire Packet*, 1793-1794, the *Staunton (Va.) Eagle*, 1807-1808, the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, 1802-1803, and the *Middlesex (Conn.) Gazette*, 1811-1824. The lack of a special fund for newspapers handicaps us considerably in the effort to fill gaps in the early files and

to maintain adequately the current files that we now preserve. In spite of its impressive showing as a national collection, this section of the library has grown without the aid of any funds devoted to its special maintenance. Changes in conditions have made it impossible that this should continue. Either we must curtail the previous broad scope of acquisition, or we must raise a fund adequate to continue the work. The new standards of competition in book prices have made the task of purchasing increasingly difficult. A library is now forced to buy at a good figure material which a few years ago could be had almost for the asking. The binding of papers, always so important for their preservation, is moreover a continuous matter of expense. It is to be regretted that that feature of the library which is among the strongest and most valuable, should have the least money to maintain it.

A notable accession to the Spanish-American collection, and one of the largest we have ever received, has been the acquirement from Harvard University of the duplicates of the Montt library. Señor Luis Montt, librarian of the National Library of Chile, possessed a library which was considered the best collection of works on Chilean history and politics outside of the library of which he was in charge, and its purchase by Harvard University made a noteworthy addition to the stock of South-American books now owned in this country. Since Harvard already possessed a large number of the long important sets, as well as many of the rarer works, it became our good fortune, partly by exchange and partly by purchase, to share in the division of the collection. The total number of books acquired by us was 535, and the most important titles, subdivided into the classes of collections, rare and early works, and works on languages, are as follows:—

Leon Fernandez, *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica*, 5 vols.

Restrepo's *Historia de la Revolucion de Colombia*, 10 vols.

Gay's *Historia de Chile*, 24 vols., with Atlas.

Pezuela's *Diccionario de Cuba*, 4 vols.

De Angelis' *Obras y Documentos relativos a la Historia del Río de la Plata*, 6 vols.

Raimondi's *Peru*, 3 vols.

Documentos para la historia de Colombia, Peru y Bolivia, 14 vols.

Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiento de América y Oceanía, 42 vols.

Medina's *Coleccion de documentos in editos para la historia de Chile*, 12 vols., 1888-1902.

Medina's bibliographies of Chile, Spanish-America, Mexico, Manila, and the Philippines.

Barros Arana's *Historia general de Chile*, 15 vols., 1884-1897.

Andres Bello, *Obras Completas*, 15 vols., 1881-1893.

Calvo, *Anales de la Revolucion de la América Latina*, 5 vols., 1864-1865.

Valdés, *Historia de Chile*, 4 vols., 1900-1903.

Memorias de los Vireyes que han gobernado el Peru, 6 vols., 1859.

Mitre, *Historia de San Martin*, 4 vols., 1890.

Sebastian Muster's *Cosmographiae Universalis, Libri VI, Basilae*, 1572.

Gonzalez de Mendoca's *Las Cosas mas notables del Reyno de la China*, Antwerp, 1596.

Pizaro y Orellana, *Varones illustres del nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1639.

Mendoza's *Chronica de S. Antonio de los Charcas en el reyno del Peru*, Madrid, 1664.

Piedrahita, *Conquisto del nuevo reyno de Granada*, Madrid, 1688.

Villagutierre, *Historia de la conquista de el Itza, en Yucatan*, Madrid, 1701.

Garcilaso de la Veya, *Historia general de Peru*, Madrid, 1722.

Oviedo y Baños, *Historia de Venezuela*, Madrid, 1723.

Herrera, *Historia general de los Castellanos en las islas del mar oceano*. 9 vols., Madrid, 1730.

Peralta Barnuevo, *Lima Fundada*, 2 vols., Lima, 1732.

Frezier's *Relation du voyage*, Paris, 1732.

Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera parte de los Commentarios de el origen de los Incas*, Madrid, 1735.

Original Papers relating to the Expedition to Panama, London, 1744.

Guinilla, *El Orinoco*, Madrid, 1745, 2 vols.

Villa-Señor y Sanches, *Theatro Americano*, 2 vols., Mexico, 1746-1748.

Juan and Ulloa, *Relacion historica*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1748.

Barcia, *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias occidentales*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1749.

- Touron, *Histoire générale de l'Amerique*, 14 vols., Paris, 1768-1770.
- Sarmiento, *Viage al Estrecho de Magallanes*, 1579-1580. Madrid, 1768.
- Gazophilacium regium Perubicum, Madrid, 1775.
- Molina, *Compendio de la historia del Chili*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1788-1795.
- Molina, *Essai sur l'histoire naturelle du Chili*, Paris, 1789.
- Molina, *Saggio sulla Storia naturale del Chili*, Bologna, 1782.
- Campillo y Cosio, *Nuevo sistema de gobierno económico para la América*, Madrid, 1789.
- Gumilla, *Historia de las naciones en riveras del Rio Orinoco*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1791.
- Cladera, *Investigaciones historicas sobre los descubrimientos de los Españoles eu el mar Oceano*, Madrid, 1794.
- Antunez y Acevedo, *Memorias sobre la legislacion eu las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1797.
- Nodae, *Elementa de gramatica Quiche*. Cuzco.
- Torreo Rubio y Figueredo, *Arte de la lengua Quiche*, Lima 1754.
- Febres, *Arte de la lengua general de Chili*, Lima, 1765.
- Anchieta, *Arte de la lengua mais usada`na Costa de Brazil*, Leipzig, 1874.
- Dionisio Anchorena, *Gramatica Quiche*, Lima, 1874.
- Ruiz de Montoy, *Arte de la lengua Guarani*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1876.
- Vocabulario das palavras Guaranis*, Rio de Janeiro, 1879.
- Castillo y Orosco, *Vocabulario Paez-Castellano*, Paris, 1877.
- Cerdena, *Arte de la lengua Lule y Tonocoté*, Madrid, 1877.
- Figueira, *Grammatica da lingua do Brasil*, Leipzig, 1878.
- Bertonio, *Arte de la lengua Aymara*, Leipzig, 1879.
- Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1879.
- Molina, *Vocabulario de la lengua Mexicana*, Leipzig, 1880.
- Thiel, *Apuntes lexicograficos de las lenguas de los Indios de Costa Rica*, San José, 1882.
- Valdivia, *Arte de la lengua de Chile*, Leipzig, 1887.

The most important accession to the manuscript department has been the collection of Foster papers deposited by Alfred Dwight Foster of Boston. These comprise the Journal of Dwight Foster, 1772-1787, 1793-1794, and 1795-1799, in three volumes, and his letters, 1785-1819, in five volumes. The papers of this early Massachusetts jurist and United States senator are of much historical and political interest, and some

day would be well worth printing. From Mrs. Bradley Gilman of Canton, Mass., and Mr. Roger Foster of New York, the library has received a large number of letters of Peregrine, Theodore and Dwight Foster, all of which go to make up a most interesting collection of documents pertaining to this important New England family.

The work of calendaring and indexing the manuscripts was given up last year because of lack of funds. The increased usefulness of the manuscripts, as already manifested during the past two years, has shown the wisdom of making this large and important collection more accessible to students.

A year ago the library was made a depository institution for the Library of Congress cards. The application for this great card catalogue was made only after long and careful deliberation. The policy of this library is a settled one. We aim to collect *everything* printed in America, North or South, up to the year 1820; since that date we preserve everything of importance which illustrates the history of American politics, education, law, social life, literature, etc. It should be understood that this is not a library restricted to early Americana. It has large collections of Civil War literature, local history, education, political history, bibliography, literary history—in short the whole field of Americana, in its broadest sense. It has strong collections of books relating to Mexico, Central and South America, Canada, Arctic discovery, and books printed in foreign countries relating to America. Nor should its manuscript collection of 35,000 pieces be overlooked. The overshadowing strength of the collection of earlier imprints has somewhat lessened our consideration of the importance of the more recent literature. Such collections as those of American biography (over 8,000 volumes) psalmody, philately, college publications, church history, travel—largely from the press of the last fifty years, are almost unexploited.

It would be a source of surprise to many to know how much this library is used throughout the country for

bibliographical information. It is possibly because the members of the Society, comprising men eminent in various lines of thought, use the institution and encourage others to do it; it is possibly because we pay more than the ordinary attention to such queries. Believing that it is one of our most important fields to aid students who are inquiring about American printed books, we have purchased much to strengthen the department of bibliography, in order that we may supply information regarding a sought-for book, even if we have not the book itself.

The greatest drawback in our research work has been the lack of a comprehensive bibliography of the productions of the American press of the past fifty years. We have few queries concerning the earlier printed books that we cannot answer from our own collections. But let a question arise regarding a recently issued book, or let some comprehensive bibliographical problem run over the borderland of the past into the present, we are generally compelled to seek the information in some other city. Such a defect the card catalogue of the Library of Congress would supply. The national library contains the greatest collection of Americana, in the broadest sense, in the country, and its catalogue, with perhaps three-quarters of the titles referring in some way to America, is the greatest bibliographical aid to an American library.

The depository set of the Library of Congress cards, as sent to the Society last year, contained about 450,000 cards, and about 40,000 cards are added annually. Our method of filing the cards is both economical and expansive. They are arranged in metal trays, each holding 1,600 cards, which are placed on the shelves of the first section of the stack on the main floor. By giving up a book capacity of 4,000 volumes, we obtain the space to file 1,600,000 cards, sufficient to cover the increase of twenty-five years. The cases, moreover, are within a few feet of our own card catalogue. The use we have already had of these Library of Congress cards shows that their value has not been overestimated.

The Society has published volume 12 of the *Transactions* (the Royal Proclamations) and two numbers of *Proceedings* during the year. By vote of the Council, the *Transactions* are to be distributed hereafter free to all members. Beginning with the issue for April, 1911, (vol. 21, no. 1), each volume of *Proceedings* will contain two numbers, instead of three, as formerly. This will cause more convenience in the binding, as each volume will contain the proceedings of a year and not lap over into the year following. Articles upon the new building have been published in several periodicals and newspapers, notably the *Worcester Magazine* for February, 1911, and the *Boston Globe* for February 5, 1911. During the year two volumes have appeared which have been published, wholly or in part, from manuscripts in the Society's possession. The first volume of the *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1681-1708, printing the original diaries owned partly by this Society, has been issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Historical Society has generously furnished us with 121 copies for distribution among our own members. The *Diary of William Bentley*, vol. 3, 1803-1810, has been published by the Essex Institute from manuscripts in our possession. This journal, although almost entirely one of local interest to Essex County, contains many references throwing light upon Dr. Bentley's subsequent gifts to the Antiquarian Society. The following quotation, dated August 16, 1804, is an instance: "After proper visits I spent a few hours in Dr. Mather's Library. Still without a catalogue, I could only gratify my curiosity as some accident might tempt me. But I find it diminishes. I was indulged with specimens of the Sermons of the Four American Mathers in succession, Richard, Increase, Cotton & Samuel. And I took such specimens of the hand writing of the Boston & other Clergy as I had liberty to select. This was once the largest private Library in America. The heads of Richard, Increase, Cotton, Samuel of America, & of Samuel of Dublin, & of Nathaniel of London yet remain, but their

situation does not promise their long preservation. That of Richard will soon be gone. It agrees as well as possible with my block print. That of Increase, in his old age, is a good picture & was called a likeness. Of Cotton the portrait much resembles Samuel, whom I intimately knew, but of Samuel's I cannot see & the family does not acknowledge the least resemblance. The others were probably great likenesses as they were taken upon the spot where the best artists dwelt. My small Increase is taken from the full length in the Historical Society's collection, & that was taken while Increase was abroad on Colonial affairs in England, & was out of health."

In the two exhibition cases on the second floor, will occasionally be shown exhibitions of rare books or prints. In April an exhibit of early Bibles was made, in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the birth of the King James version. From our own collections, a representative number of incunabula and early English translations, and an almost complete showing of early American Bibles, was displayed. As a matter of record, the list of volumes exhibited is here given:

MANUSCRIPT BIBLE. 13th Century.

LATIN BIBLE, 1476. Printed at Venice by Hailbrun and Frankfordia, initial letters drawn by hand. This copy owned by Increase and Cotton Mather. The first dated Bible with printers' signatures was issued in 1476.

LATIN BIBLE, 1478. Printed at Venice by Leonardus Vuild. Initial letters never made for this copy. Old binding with brass bosses, and with clasps at top and bottom as well as sides.

LATIN BIBLE, 1487. Printed at Venice by Georgius de Riva-benis.

THE CRANMER BIBLE. Printed at London by Richard Grafton, April 1540. Prologue written by Archbishop Cranmer.

NEW TESTAMENT, 1520. Latin Translation by Erasmus, printed at Antwerp by M. Hillenius.

LATIN BIBLE, 1556. Printed at Lyons by Joannes Frellonius. Gift of Daniel Willard to Samuel Mather.

LATIN BIBLE, 1583. Printed at Antwerp by Christopher Plantin.

- POLYGLOT NEW TESTAMENT. Compiled by Elias Hutterus in 12 languages. Printed at Nuremberg, 1599.
- THE GENEVAN VERSION, or "BREECHES" BIBLE. First printed 1560; this edition printed 1599. So called from use of word "breeches" in Genesis, iii. 7.
- THE BISHOP'S BIBLE. First printed 1568; this edition printed 1598 (?). Translated by several English bishops, under supervision of Archbishop Parker. Often called the "Treacle Bible" from the phrasing of Jeremiah, viii. 22.
- THE KING JAMES, or AUTHORIZED VERSION. First printed 1611; this edition printed 1613. Translated by forty-seven Biblical scholars. Dedicated to King James I.
- BAY PSALM BOOK, 1640. The first book printed in colonial America.
- ELIOT BIBLE, Cambridge, 1663. Translated into Indian language by Rev. John Eliot. The first Bible printed in America.
- ELIOT INDIAN BIBLE. 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1685.
- THE SAUR BIBLE, 1743. Printed at Germantown by Chr. Saur. The second Bible printed in America, and the first in a European language. Subsequent editions printed in 1763 and 1776.
- MARK BASKETT BIBLE, 1766. Interesting because of the tradition, first repeated by Isaiah Thomas, that a Bible was covertly printed at Boston about 1752 with the imprint of Mark Baskett of London.
- THE AITKEN BIBLE, 1782. Printed by Robert Aitken at Philadelphia. The third Bible printed in America, and the first in the English language.
- THE YOUNG BIBLE, 1790. Printed by Wm. Young at Philadelphia. The fourth Bible printed in America.
- BASKERVILLE BIBLE, 1769. Printed at Birmingham by John Baskerville. Comparison will show that this volume served as the model for the printing of Thomas' folio Bible.
- THE THOMAS BIBLE, 1791. Printed by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester. The sixth Bible printed in America and the first folio edition in English. A remarkable piece of printing which caused Franklin to call Thomas "the Baskerville of America."
- THE THOMAS QUARTO BIBLE, 1791.
- THE COLLINS BIBLE, 1791. Printed by Isaac Collins at Trenton. The seventh Bible printed in America.
- HIEROGLYPHIC BIBLE. Printed by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester 1788.
- GREEK NEW TESTAMENT, 1800. Printed by Isaiah Thomas, Jun., at Worcester and edited by Caleb Alexander. The first Greek Testament in America.

The space given over to exhibition and museum purposes has been made more subordinate than in the old building. During its early days, the Society, being one of the few in the country devoted to antiquarian objects, was presented with many relics which to-day would more appropriately be placed in some other institution. By the end of the first half-century of its life, it had accumulated a strange collection of relics and curios, which was not complete or comprehensive in any one line, and which from its very lack of strength incited the curiosity of the chance visitor rather than the inspection of the student. Gradually, the officers of the Society realized that a national Society, which did not pretend to museum activity, was not the proper custodian of all these relics. In 1877, an Indian mummy which had been taken from a cave in Kentucky was placed with other remains of the same kind in the Smithsonian Institution. In January, 1886, according to a vote of the Council of March, 1884, a number of relics, chiefly the wearing apparel of native races and other curios of a perishable nature, were transferred to the Peabody Museum. At the same time a few relics of Worcester interest were placed in The Worcester Society of Antiquity museum. In 1892 the Council voted that "the attention of Prof. Frederic W. Putnam be called to the collection in the cabinet, with a view and with permission to select a portion for the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, to decide if others should remain with us, and to offer the residue to The Worcester Society of Antiquity." These transfers were made, the Society retaining only a few Yucatecan relics and Indian implements. In 1910 the library committee, acting upon authority given them by a vote of the Council of September, 1908, transferred to the Peabody Museum of Harvard University the remainder of the ethnological and archaeological relics contained in the four glass cases in the main hall of the old buildings, receiving in return \$450 for the purchase of the British Museum Catalogue. During the year, the statues of Christ

and of Moses were placed respectively in the Art Museum and the County Court House, and the cast of the Labna portal deposited, with the permission of the donor, Mr. Edward H. Thompson, with the National Museum at Washington. The Society has retained several important historical relics for exhibition purposes, and values most highly its fine specimens of colonial furniture which help to make the building attractive. It should give us a feeling of satisfaction to have all these relics, comparatively few in number, unarranged and worthless for comprehensive study, deposited in institutions which can make real use of them. With the growth of libraries and collections all over the country, each institution must endeavor to specialize along certain lines and must realize the futility of scattering its energies.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

Librarian.

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NEW ENGLAND'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY
OF WITCHCRAFT

BY GEORGE LINCOLN BURR

It is now more than twenty years since I reached the threshold of this theme. Happily it was to learn in time its perils. I was about to read before the American Historical Association a paper on "The Literature of Witchcraft" and my friend Mr. Justin Winsor naturally guessed that it must touch upon New England's share. "Don't be afraid," he encouraged me, "to say just what you please. If Poole pitches into you, I'll come to your support."

But what I had then to say about New England could give offense not even to Mr. Poole. The Salem panic was dismissed with a single sentence as "but the last bright flicker of the ghastly glare which had so long made hideous the European night," and in apology for ignoring the literature of American witchcraft I pleaded that in such a presence it would be a work of supererogation, if not an impertinence, to treat that literature with the brevity its place in the history of the delusion would demand. Perhaps these words satisfied even Mr. Poole that thus far I was no partisan. At any rate, though more than once it was my privilege to discuss with him New England witchcraft, he remained, like Mr. Winsor, till death my friend.

Till now I have been too wise to skirt the theme again. But age has brought temerity. Much as has been written, and well written, on the New England episode, no student has yet devoted a paper to its place in the history of witchcraft as a whole. Yet perhaps I should

not even now attempt it, had not two studies, both by members of our society and read before its meetings, done much to pave the way. In 1895 Professor Justin Winsor himself, in a paper on "The Literature of Witchcraft in New England,"¹ not only much more than made good what my own essay had lacked, but brought to light many a channel through which the thought of the old England told upon the new; and in 1906 a younger colleague of his and ours, Professor George Lyman Kittredge, in a paper bearing the modest title of "Notes on Witchcraft,"² went much further. Alleging the antiquity and the universality of belief in witchcraft, he pointed out more fully than had hitherto been done the relations of New England thought to English, the intelligibility of the superstition, the complexity of the problem on both sides of the sea, the inadequacy of its explanation by Puritanism or by pedantry, the relative slightness and transiency of the Salem episode; and, with the keen eye of the practised critic, he swept away a host of misstatements and exaggerations which have distorted the story. It is a service for which every lover of New England must be grateful; and, though there is much more to say and some things which I could have wished said otherwise, I could hardly, had he stopped with this, have cared to add a word. But when, in the generous zeal of his apology, he proceeded to lay down a body of theses which declare the belief in witchcraft "practically universal in the seventeenth century, even among the educated," and "no more discreditable to a man's head or heart than it was to believe in spontaneous generation or to be ignorant of the germ theory of disease," and which pronounce "the position of the seventeenth-century believers in witchcraft" . . . "logically and theologically stronger" than that of their opponents, and "the impulse to put a witch to death" "no more cruel or otherwise blameworthy, in itself, than the impulse to put a murderer to death,"

¹ Proceedings, N. S., Vol. X, pp. 351-373.

² Proceedings, N. S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 148-212.

he reached results so startlingly new, so contradictory of what my own lifelong study in this field has seemed to teach, so unconfirmed by the further research to which his words have stirred, and withal so much more generous to our ancestors than I can find it in my conscience to deem fair, that I should be less than honest did I not seize this earliest opportunity to share with you the reasons for my doubts—aye and to suggest a reading of history which, without undue harshness to the past, may leave it more intelligible how the present could honestly come to be.

If such a protest be anywhere in place, it is surely here. And if even here it seem too frankly polemic, let me plead that to take another's work so seriously is the best tribute to its weight, and to offer one's own in return the best gratitude for its help. In any case I could hardly diverge more widely from my predecessor than did he from his; and, so sweeping are his conclusions, any later study must choose between the disrespect of silence and the frankness of debate.³

And if to any here it seem treason to those who made New England to dissent from aught that can be urged in their praise, bear with me while I plead that, despite my birth and home in the wilds beyond the Hudson, there flows in my own veins none but New England blood; that that blood is almost wholly Puritan; that the English county which I believe the home of those who bore my name was that most deeply stained by this superstition; that the first who brought that name across the sea must at Springfield have had some part (though I trust it is only Dr. Holland's imagination that in *The Bay Path* gives him so large part) in the earliest New England witch-trial known to us in its details; that a few years later, at Fairfield, his son John Burr, my forebear, with Abigail his wife, had part unquestion-

³ Perhaps I should not fail to add that the debate indeed has been opened by himself; for it is to questions involved in what his paper (else over-generous to my own) calls "the error into which Professor Burr has fallen" that the present study is chiefly devoted.

able in such proceedings; and that my other traditions are mainly of like ancestry and of a like ancestral faith.

Yet, to me, to urge in defense of those who in the seventeenth century—in New England or elsewhere—hung women as witches that the belief in witchcraft is universal seems a juggling with words. That belief which in the seventeenth century caused women to be done to death was never universal—in place or time. Let us define our terms. To assert or to deny anything whatever of witchcraft without a definition is to talk in the air: the word has had widely different meanings. When we affirm the universality of witchcraft or of the belief in it, it is in a sense which neither the etymology nor the history of that word suffices to explain. Only by analogy has its meaning gained so wide an application; and, unless I err as to what the anthropologists teach us, it is only in a sense that would make it inclusive of both religion and magic that witchcraft can be demonstrated universal. If, however, we discriminate between religion and magic, understanding by magic the art of winning supernatural aid, not by submission or persuasion, but by human cleverness or lore, and if then witchcraft be identified with magic, as is often done, we shall still, I fear, have fallen short of an excuse for its repression. But if, as is most common of all, we make witchcraft to mean “black magic” alone—and this is clearly what Professor Kittredge does, since he counts *maleficium*, harm to others, its essence—we come up against a difficulty not less grave. For to the devotees of a religion not only the users of black magic, nay not only all the users of magic, be it black or white, seem to employ illicit aid against their fellows; but, so fierce is the struggle for existence, the users of a rival religion are almost sure to be confused with these. And if the religion be monotheistic and claim monopoly, then *preslo* all other gods and all other worships are branded with the stigma. Now, from almost or quite the first, this was precisely the attitude of Christianity, both toward all magic and toward all pagan faiths.

She did not deny the existence of gods other than her God. She did not deny them power. She denied them only goodness. They were "fiends," and those who sought their aid, for whatever end, by whatever means, were alike guilty of witchcraft. For now it is that we first meet that word. It belonged alone to our English forefathers, and before they were Christians they seem to have meant by it nothing evil. The word "witch," if scholars are right, is but a worn form of the word "witega," by which the Christian translators of that earliest day rendered into their own English the sacred name of "prophet." It can at first have implied in those who were known by it no graver fault than wisdom. Christianity it was that degraded it to a meaning wholly bad, the awful shadow of her awesome light, including within it not only all she learned to know of English heathendom, but darkening yet more the notion with all she remembered of Hebrew or Greek or Roman superstitions—for to her the Devil, like God, was one.

Yet all this was but the germ of her full-grown idea of witchcraft. A change more fundamental was in store. Thus far there was reality in the things she fought. However she might confuse them or exaggerate, the old superstitions were not dead. But a mass of them she had from the first despised or laughed away; and under her stern teaching their survivals fell ever more and more into neglect. As the danger lessened, her own bearing wisely grew less stern. The growing Canon Law punished now a practice, now the belief in it, and presently forgot to punish at all. However now and then superstition might well up in violence from the masses, it looked for a time as if under the enlightening care of Church and State its most cruel terrors might be outgrown.

Alas, what was swept out at the door crept in at the key-hole. The old ideas had found an anchorage in theology. The old names still lived on. As our fathers brought with them over the sea memories of robin or partridge, and their children, grown familiar with the

word, must somehow find a thing to wear the name, so then the teachers of that docile age worked into the patchwork of their school theology these tatters of the past. The superstitions of the lowly may be met by education; but who shall save us from the superstitions of the learned? The long and complex history through which witchcraft came to mean what it meant to Christian Europe from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth, I must not here rehearse. Suffice it that that meaning had grown definite and fixed—formulated and prescribed by school and court and pulpit—and that none were so strenuous in insisting on that definition, so hot in denying the identity of this their witchcraft with any other, as were the witch-haters themselves. Nor were they wrong; for to write of robin or of partridge and ignore the change which has made the words mean one thing in Old England and another in New would be less misleading than to ignore the change which had come in the meaning of witchcraft—a change from objective to subjective—from the deed of a culprit to the dream of an inquisitor.

I do not mean, of course, that there was no intelligible chain of thought between the older meanings and the new. I do not mean that there were not, then as now, those who confused the two. I do not mean that men and women were not sometimes brought into suspicion of witchcraft in the new sense by some dealing with witchcraft in the old. I mean only that the witchcraft for which during these centuries men and women were punished by church and state was a theological fantasy, and that for any sort of witchcraft known before the advent of this theological conception men and women would no more have been done to death in seventeenth-century Salem than in Salem of to-day. This is what I meant when in that old paper I wrote: "Magic . . . is actual and universal; . . . but witchcraft never was. It was but a shadow, a nightmare: the nightmare of a religion, the shadow of a dogma. Less than five centuries saw its birth, its vigor, its decay."

Later research, at least, has but confirmed these words. Joseph Hansen, the eminent German scholar who has since given the world the most careful book on the rise of this conception,⁴ would narrow its period yet more closely than I. And Mr. Lea, from whom, after a lifetime's study of this subject, we hoped the most learned of all books upon it, wrote in 1907 in one of those chapters of his great histories of the Inquisition which may remain our only substitute for that unfinished work: "The culmination of sorcery was witchcraft and yet it was not the same. . . . The witch has abandoned Christianity, has renounced her baptism, has worshipped Satan as her God, has surrendered herself to him, body and soul, and exists only to be his instrument. . . . There are no pages of European history more filled with horror than those which record the witch-madness of three centuries, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth; . . . [and] this witch-madness was essentially a disease of the imagination, created and stimulated by the persecution of witchcraft."⁵

Professor Kittredge, too, counts sound and necessary the distinction between witchcraft and magic; but he thinks it less vital than do I in the history of witchcraft, and less true for England than for the Continent. To this point, therefore, and especially to England I have first addressed my study.⁶ I am far yet from being ready to pronounce a final opinion; but I must confess that thus far I have found no reason to adopt his view.⁷

⁴ *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter* (Munich and Leipzig, 1900).

⁵ *The Inquisition of Spain* (New York, 1906-1907), IV, p. 206. Mr. Lea once wrote me that all his study of the Inquisition grew out of his study of the history of witchcraft.

⁶ This has been the more tempting because during these last months there has fallen upon me, as the chairman of a committee of the American Historical Association, the pleasant task of aiding to prepare for the press a prize essay by a young American scholar on the history of English witchcraft (Wallace Notestein, *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1713*, Washington, 1911). Alas, though I owe to this a stimulating companionship and many additions to my knowledge, and for both am glad here to express my warm thanks to the author, it has needed from me more time than I foresaw; and to the inopportune demands during these last days of the page proofs of that volume I must ask you to impute in part the crudeness and the incompleteness of the present paper.

⁷ He cites (note 2) Hansen as also recognizing "the difference between England and the Continent in the development of the witchcraft idea and in the history of prosecution."

Instead of finding in England popular superstition more continuous than on the Continent I seem to find it less so. Nor does this seem hard to explain. The English were a migrant people, and superstitions do not migrate easily. Germanic beliefs were peculiarly local, and the students of Germanic origins have often pointed out how largely, even on the Continent, they failed to survive the wandering. But the English migrated over sea, lost touch almost wholly with the home land, were long cut off by speech and faith from the superstitions of the land to which they came. For long the migrants were men—less prone than women to the practice or the fear of sorcery. And scarcely were they well settled in the new home when a new faith, Christianity, made them its converts,—and more swiftly and thoroughly than any other Germanic folk till their kinsmen the Normans should under circumstances very similar repeat the story.

How much of superstition that new faith brushed away, how sternly, though so credulously, it fought the remainder, we have already noted. It is in the Penitentials, not the laws, that we first find mention of witchcraft; and what the English Penitentials find to punish is slight compared with what is found by Continental ones—nay, much of even this little seems only borrowed from Continental canons.⁸ And while the pre-Christian Germanic laws of the Continent punish witchcraft only when harm to person or to goods is charged, and only later, under church influence, make it penal as a dealing with evil powers,⁹ Alfred's law, the earliest English one, is but an echo of the Mosaic "Thou

I am unable to read so much, however, out of the passage he names (*Zauberwahn*, p. 24, note 1). What Hansen seems to me to say is only that his own book does not deal with England, which "though it shared indeed largely in the witch-trials, reflects only the general course of the development."

⁸ It is to be noted that much of what is published by Spelman and by Thorpe as belonging to the Penitential of Theodore, in the seventh century, or to Egbert's, in the eighth, is now known to be later interpolation from Continental sources. See *Wasserschleben, Bussordnungen*, pp. 13-32, 162-219, 251-348; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, pp. 173-186, 179-190, 413-416, 424; Lea, *Auricular Confession and Indulgence*, iii, p. 103-104.

⁹ See Hansen, *Zauberwahn*, pp. 61 ff. and authorities cited by him; and especially Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, ii, pp. 678-691.

shalt not suffer a witch to live."¹⁰ The laws of Ethelred and Cnut are scarcely less redolent of Scriptural suggestion;¹¹ and when, with the Norman Conquest, the influence of the Continent and of Rome grows more direct, the English theologians and chroniclers reek with precisely the same witch and devil lore that was popular beyond the Channel.

But in England, as on the Continent, the attitude of Church and State toward what they deemed witchcraft seems for a time to grow milder, not sterner. In England, as on the Continent, it was only in the train of the newly organized repression of heresy that sternness came back. "Indeed," say the historians of English law, "it is probable that but for the persecution of heretics there would have been no persecution of sorcerers."¹² Everybody knows how, when Bishop Stubbs had taught us that even in England the authority of the Canon Law was greater than we had dreamed, Mr. Maitland, layman and skeptic, went much further and showed it greater than Bishop Stubbs had dreamed. Especially did he prove this as to heresy, showing beyond question that heretics were burned, and by the civil authorities at the instance of the Church, before the statute *de haeretico comburendo*.¹³ By the Canon Law witchcraft had now been brought into the closest connection with heresy—it was only a higher treason against Heaven—and the Church's pressure for its punishment was not less urgent.¹⁴ As in 1401 the Canon Law was reinforced, as to heresy, by the statute, so in 1406 there was won from the same churchly king, and doubtless by the prelate to whom our extant copy of it is addressed—Philip Repington, Bishop of Lincoln, late the king's chaplain

¹⁰ See Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1906), i, pp. 38-39.

¹¹ Same, pp. 248-249, 310-311.

¹² Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1898), ii, p. 552.

¹³ Maitland, *Canon Law in the Church of England* (London, 1898), especially pp. 79-80, 158-179; and the *History of English Law*, ii, pp. 544-552.

¹⁴ See as to this Mr. Len's chapters on "Sorcery" and "Witchcraft" in his *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* and Hausen, *Zauberwahn*, ch. iv. Not all the decretals as to witchcraft were to find a place in the authorized *Corpus* of the Canon Law; but this was then only in the making.

and confessor and still his bosom friend, an ex-Lollard now with the zeal of a renegade hunting down his ancient brethren and soon to be rewarded with the cardinal's hat—a royal letter calling for the ferreting out of witches.¹⁵ Nor can I find that in England the theory of witchcraft differed then in any point from that of the rest of Latin Christendom. That, however, there followed in England no such epidemic of witch-persecution¹⁶ as on the Continent I readily admit; but it seems to me more easily explained than by any difference in the development of the witchcraft idea. There was in England no Holy Inquisition; and on the Continent it was, as is well known, to the Holy Inquisition, now left at leisure by its success in the extirpation of heresy, that the new quest of witches was almost wholly due. There was in England no use of torture; and the torture, as is not less well known, was the fruitful source of nearly all witch-epidemics. When in the seventeenth century English procedure, in spite of English law, learned to use torture, England too had her witch-epidemic. I gladly admit, too, that both these causes must have retarded in England the diffusion of the witch-idea. That England had no Holy Inquisition may have been, as has been said, only because she had no need of one; but in its absence she lacked those from whom came all the treatises expounding the new dogma, and whose prestige must have done much to give it vogue. The torture, too, not only wrested, from the innocent, confessions of guilt and the names of accomplices to be tortured into like confession, but through the wild tales it forced from their delirious fancy or enabled the leading questions of bookish in-

¹⁵ The Bishop of Lincoln it was, not the Bishop of Norwich, as say Pollock and Maitland (*History of English Law*, ii. p. 555). The error is borrowed from Thomas Wright (introduction to *Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler*, Camden Society, London, 1843), who, however, prints the document in full and with the correct name. It may be found also in Rymer; and see the *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry IV., 1405-1408*, p. 112. Mr. Lea assumes (*Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, iii, p. 467), and I think reasonably, that the same letter was sent to all the English bishops.

¹⁶ I am sorry that I must use this word "persecution," so scrupulously avoided by Professor Kittredge. "Prosecution," which he uses instead, does not mean the same thing; and, if it did, I fear it would lose no time in falling under the same stigma.

quisitors to put into their mouths—tales published through the reading of these confessions to the crowds which gathered at sentence and execution or diffused through the no less effective medium of common gossip—was a most potent popularizer of the delusion. And, though from both these sources, through written book and word of mouth, there filtered slowly into England all this teaching, it was not till after the middle of the sixteenth century that it began to tell on public polity.¹⁷ Till that time, as I too believe, the idea of *maleficium*, or actual harm, played a larger part in English action toward witchcraft than on the Continent was now accorded it.

But with the accession of Elizabeth there found entrance into England a Continental influence which was to change all this. The Marian exiles, who so largely manned her bishoprics, were fresh from lands and towns where witch-burning was in full career, and at Geneva, Zurich, Basel, Strasburg, had had ample opportunity to learn its theory; and the law which was now to embody this differing attitude they from the very outset of the new queen's reign demanded at her hands. That law was introduced in her first Parliament, though to be passed only by its successor; and in the interval one of these exiles, Bishop Jewel, who had already reported to his Continental mentor, Peter Martyr, the enormous number of witches his trained eyes now found in England,¹⁸ burst forth, in a sermon before the queen, into an appeal to her for action against them.¹⁹ It is true that he finds a ground for this appeal in the "horrible using" of her poor subjects, whom his eyes have seen to "pine away even unto the death." Nay, he even insinuates some such danger from the witches to the queen herself: "I pray God," he said, "they never prac-

¹⁷ Of the transient statute under Henry VIII or of its disappearance under Edward, I must not pause to speak. As was long ago pointed out, there is reason to doubt whether it was honestly meant or seriously enforced.

¹⁸ Jewel, *Works* (Parker Soc., 1845-1850), iv, pp. 1216-1217; or (translation only) *Zurich Letters* (Parker Soc., 1842), 44.

¹⁹ As to the date of this sermon see Notestein, p. 16.

tise further than upon the subject." But it must be remembered that the "laws" for whose execution he was then appealing must mean the common law of the realm, which of course took cognizance only of concrete injury as basis for a criminal action in the courts. It is true, too, that the new statute, which early in 1563 became a law, mentions still as a ground for the "condign punishment" of such "devilish persons" their witchcrafts "to the destruction of the persons and goods of their neighbors"; but this is no longer the only ground, nor is any *maleficium* longer needed for their conviction. To "use, practise, or exercise any invocations or conjurations of evil and wicked spirits to or for any intent or purpose" is specified first of all as enough by itself to warrant their death as felons; and to their witchcrafts against their neighbors are now assimilated "other lewd intents and purposes contrary to the laws of Almighty God and to the peril of their own souls."²⁰

I venture to think that no student familiar with the Erasmian tone of the leaders of church and state in England during the earlier sixteenth century can read the sermon which offered the text for such an outburst, or the statute which thus assumes the old function of the Canon Law and punishes sin as well as crime, without discerning in both alike a new diction and a new spirit, or without recognizing in that diction and that spirit the stamp of what was later to be known as Calvinism. And from this day forward, however individuals prove exceptions either way, the group, the party, which I seem to find always standing in general for a sterner dealing with witches in England is that whose

²⁰ Professor Kittredge (see his note 4) seems wholly to have overlooked, both in the statute of Elizabeth and in that of James, this prescription of death for witchcraft without *maleficium*—witchcraft which wrongs only God and harms only self—and this oversight, I fear, is largely responsible for his whole point of view. Were only *maleficium* to be punished, there was indeed, no need for a special statute: the common law punished, and with severity, both harm to person and harm to goods, whether wrought by witchcraft or in any other wise. Nay, even after there was a special statute, the common law might be invoked to punish *maleficium*, and in one case, at least, it took precedence: a woman who bewitched to death her husband, was burned for husband-murder ("petty treason"), not hanged for witchcraft.

bond of unity was Calvinism.²¹ It was not that Calvinism was more prone to superstition. I believe it had to do with the precise converse of this. What happened now was singularly like what had happened when Christianity took hold on the Germanic peoples. The rational minds of the Swiss and Genevan reformers, trained in a more critical school than their North German neighbors, discarded at one sweep nearly the whole

²¹ "The remark," says Professor Kittredge (note 42), "that Calvinism was especially responsible for witch-trials is a loose assertion which has to reckon with the fact that the last burning for witchcraft at Geneva took place in 1652." Who may have ventured such a remark I do not know, and I have no wish to defend it. I should be slow to believe that Calvinism could be more responsible for witch-trials than was the Dominican theology in its own time and place, or than Lutheranism in the lands where it was most dominant. That Calvinism was especially responsible for witch-trials in England is, however, a verdict so familiar that, so far as I know, Professor Kittredge is the first to question it. Principal Lee, a half-century ago, in his *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland* (i, pp. 315-327), undertook to clear the skirts of Scotland and of Presbyterianism, and like Professor Kittredge he refutes many exaggerations; but it is in part at the cost of English Calvinists, and I doubt if, in general, Professor Kittredge would count the case advanced by his sometimes startling arguments. If the ascription of especial responsibility to Calvinism in England has been loosely made, I suspect that it is because it was supposed an admitted fact or seemed too evident for proof. Such grounds for my own faith in it as I have space here to present will be found in the text; but let me hasten to reckon with the date of that last burning at Geneva by asking how many other cities of the importance or the intelligence of Geneva had a witch-burning so late as 1652. Of her neighbors Strasburg and Basel seem to have left off a little earlier, Bern and Zurich a little later. London saw an execution that very year, and perhaps another in the year that followed; but London was then a very Calvinistic London, and knew nothing of this sort after the Restoration. It is, of course, to Geneva's honor that she burned no later, though her witch trials did not cease with her witch-burning; nor will I ask whether we should attribute the escape of the rest from death to the hesitation of her judges, as does her historian, Gautier, or to the protest of her physicians, as does Dr. Ladame, who has edited the documents of that final burning. I am glad to believe it, rather, a civic advance in which these had only their share. In any case, is it not as irrelevant to the question of the influence of Calvinism as it would be to question the influence of the medieval theology because witch-burnings ceased early at Rome? Is it not more pertinent that, while of the one hundred and sixty-two trials whose records are left at Geneva from the fifteenth century but one was for witchcraft (Ladame, *Procès criminel de la dernière sorcière brûlée à Genève*, p. vi) and while prior to the advent of the reformers it is said that no death penalty for witchcraft is known to the annals of the city, one hundred and fifty were burned there for that crime during the next sixty years (Henry, *Leben Calvins*, ii, p. 75, quoting Picot, *Histoire de Genève*, ii, 280)? I dare not answer for the exactness of these latter figures, for I do not know on what Picot has based his count; but they gain much probability from the fact that Dr. Ladame finds still in the Genevan archives the documents of two hundred witch-trials from the sixteenth century (*Procès*, p. vii), and that Hansen, who has also sifted these archives, enumerates only a single sixteenth-century trial there prior to 1540 (*Quellen*, p. 513). As this trial, which ended in a condemnation and therefore probably in an execution, took place in 1527, it might seem in so far to throw doubt on Picot's figure; but, as the court was the Holy Inquisition and the witch from an outlying Savoyard village, the case is not strictly a Genevan one. Yet even for Geneva let me not seem to make Calvinism the only cause of persecution.

mass of the superstitions which had become the heritage of Christendom—not only those which had to do with Christian worship, but those as well which clustered about its alleged counterpart, the ritual of Satan. As Calvin's caustic treatise on the need of an inventory of the relics of the saints, with its shrewd sense and taunting mockery, rang through the Christian world, translated and read nowhere more eagerly than in England, so too his contemptuous rejection of a horde of the marvels of witchcraft. Miracles had ceased, he taught, with the apostles. The miracles of the Devil, like those of the Church, are sham. The witch-sabbath is a fantastic fiction, the witch's flight through the air a delusion of Satan. Luther and his followers took over from the Middle Ages a host of superstitions to which Calvin would not listen. Even of exorcism, whether of babes or of demoniacs, he would not hear. And on no side, I think, did Calvinism more appeal to the practical common sense of Englishmen.

But on one point Calvin stood firmly with the past—on the authority of the Bible. It was in its name that he condemned all else. "He that believes more than the Holy Bible teaches," wrote one of his English disciples,²² "he is superstitious, and the use of the thing is superstition"; and superstition, taught Calvin, is as bad as atheism.²³ And to Calvin the Holy Bible meant Old Testament as well as New. Luther had denied that the Old was binding upon Christians; but Calvin held its legislation still valid and authoritative, and out of it he drew his scheme of church and state. It is the duty of the Christian prince, the Christian magistrate, he taught, to enforce the law of God as well as that of man; and the first four Commandments, which define men's duties to God, should be enforced more zealously than the other six, which govern their duties to each other. "Now the Bible," said Calvin, "teaches that there are witches and that they must be slain." "God

²² Bishop Pilkington.

²³ See his sermon on Deut. xiii.

expressly commands that all witches and enchantresses be put to death, and this law of God is a universal law," as binding to-day as ever.²⁴ To deny that magical arts were ever practised, or that they are so still, would be to accuse God of heedlessness, legislating about things which do not exist.²⁵ This is "impudent blasphemy," and they who utter it should be driven out from Christian communities.²⁶ Though the Devil's pretended miracles are frauds, "we need not wonder if, by God's permission, he should disturb the elements, or afflict the reprobate with diseases and other evils, or present phantoms to their sight."²⁷

Therefore it was that Calvin could take earnest part in the extirpation of those who were charged with spreading the plague at Geneva by anointing with a diabolic unguent the latches of the doors.²⁸ Therefore it was that he could appear in person before the Council to insist on the extirpation of the witches (this time not pest-spreaders) in the parish of Peney; and it is to be noticed that the records of the Council make him term them "heretics."²⁹ To him it was not their harm to men that was the gist of their offense. It was that such offenses, however illusory, "carry with them a wicked renunciation of God"; for "God would condemn to

²⁴ See his sermon on the Witch of Endor (*Opera*, ed. Baum *et al.*, xxx, 631-632).

²⁵ *Opera*, xxiv, 269.

²⁶ *Opera*, xxx, 632.

²⁷ *Opera*, xxiv, 269; cf. Eng. transl. of the Calvin Translation Society (*Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses*, i, p. 431).

²⁸ This was *maeficiu* with a vengeance; and, if ever a panic of superstitious and cruel terror could be pardoned, it would be in the face of such a mysterious and deadly scourge. Nay, so circumstantial and so rational are the details given us by contemporaries—as by that good Calvinist, Michel Roset—that one could not only credit the guilt of the accused, but could accept the story of its method, were it not for the merciless torture used to win the confessions, and the preposterous tale of league with the Devil which it proved as easy to win from them by the same means. Those accused of a like crime had been similarly convicted and punished at Geneva a half-dozen years before the coming of Calvin; but in the account we have of it from the good Roset there is this notable difference, that, whereas the first episode is narrated as a case of simple poisoning, without a suggestion of any supernatural influence, in the later he knows that the "more than thirty persons"—thirty-one were put to death—"had leagued together to give themselves body and soul to the Devil in express terms." One catches here both the Calvinist's belief in the guilt of the intent and the Calvinist's doubt as to the reality of the marvel. (See Roset, *Les Chroniques de Genève*, Geneva, 1894, pp. 46-47, 306-308.)

²⁹ *Opera*, xxi, 365, and A. Roget, *Histoire du Peuple de Genève*, ii, pp. 178-179.

capital punishment all augurs, and magicians, and consultants with familiar spirits, and necromancers and followers of magic arts."³⁰

The lawyers, indeed, throughout Europe were not easy to win to such a departure from the concrete. The church herself had long jealously restricted them to non-spiritual offenses, and their own conservatism was now slow to budge. Those who drew up in the first decades of the sixteenth century that great criminal code of Charles V which was promulgated at last in 1532 made the penalty of death for witchcraft depend on such a concrete mischief. But Lutheran influence in time changed all this in Saxony, and in 1572 the new code of the Elector August punished witches with death "regardless of whether they had by witchcraft done anybody harm";³¹ and in 1582 the new code of the then Lutheran Palatinate echoed this penalty of death regardless of *maleficium*.³² But Calvinism had taught this from the first, and the statute of Elizabeth was earlier by nearly a decade than even the Saxon code. And in that same year, 1563, there was enacted in the neighboring Scotland, where, though Mary was on the throne, the Calvinists were in the saddle, a similar but severer statute, punishing with death alike the use of witchcraft and the consulting of a witch, and without the slightest mention of a *maleficium*.

But Calvinistic demonology was soon to flow into England through many other channels than the memory or the correspondence of the exiles. I can take space for the mention of but one or two. In 1575 there appeared in English translation the dialogue on witches of the Genevan professor, Daneau, printed the previous year in French and soon to be had in Latin as well; and by 1586 there was market for a fresh English translation.³³ In 1580, however, had appeared the great *Démonomanie*

³⁰ *Opera*, xxiv, 365.

³¹ "Ob sie gleich mit Zauberei niemand Schaden zugefügt" run the exact words of the Code (pars iv, const. 2).

³² Titul. ix (p. 9).

³³ See Paul de Félice, *Lambert Daneau*, p. 159.

of Bodin (soon also translated into Latin), whose powerful influence can be traced everywhere in the English thought of the following years. An open Calvinist he was not; but so saturated is his book with Calvinistic thought, and, through Calvinism, with the Old Testament, that he has been suspected not only of crypto-Calvinism, but sometimes of Judaism.³⁴ Yet it was far less, I think, the influence of any such monograph than that of Calvin's own commentaries, now on every preacher's shelves, of Calvin's own sermons, the model, if not the source, of pulpit eloquence,—it was Daneau's *Ethice Christiana*, the standard treatise of Protestant ethics, and his *Politice Christiana*, the standard manual of Protestant rulers,—that impressed this doctrine on the English conscience.

Not that English demonologic reading was narrow. In a day when every educated Englishman read Latin as easily as English and was likely to have a smattering of French and Italian as well, it should go without saying that the books which shaped in this field the thought of the Continent were known in England also. The bibliography which in 1584 Reginald Scot prefixed to his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* enumerates well nigh the whole literature of the subject; and the defenders of the belief are not chary of displaying a similar learning. It is no truer that it is impossible to study New England thought on witchcraft apart from English than that it is impossible to study English apart from Continental. Nay, New England, too, was far from ignorant of Continental thought. Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences* shows an amazing acquaintance with the Continental authorities on demonology; and, though it does not follow, even when he cites them, that that acquaintance was always at first hand, a deal of it is clearly so.³⁵

³⁴ See especially the careful study of Friedrich von Bezold on *Jean Bodin als Okkultist und seine Démonomanie*, in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 105 (1910).

³⁵ Of the books he cites I find only a small proportion listed by Mr. Tuttle in his interesting paper (published last year in our *Proceedings*) on *The Libraries of the Mathers*. But his study suggests many ways in which this may be explained.

And this wider reading, even the Mathers', included much that was written to question or restrain the persecution. Yet it is not strange that to plain Englishmen, in England or New England, the Calvinistic view should have especial cogency. Not alone what seemed its rationalism, but its discrimination—is it not still the reasoner who discriminates that wins us?—but most of all, I think, its appeal to the Bible, the text-book which now made every man his own theologian, and its acceptance of that literal sense which lay for every man upon the surface, these were the qualities to carry weight with pious men just waking now in every field to self-reliance and self-help. And, if it narrowed superstition, it deepened it as well. Precisely as, by robbing the Puritan of all ritual except the Sabbath, it concentrated on the Sabbath all the devotion which in him still craved ritual, so by denying to the Puritan imagination indulgence in other superstitions it made more keen by far its interest in these deeds of darkness which it was Christian virtue to divine and punish.

What picturesqueness such speculations might take on let me illustrate from a sober law-book put forth in the last years of Elizabeth by a scrivener of that southern Yorkshire whence came so many of the earliest founders of New England. Thus in his *Simboleography*³⁶ William West defines the crimes of "magicke" and "witcherie":

MAGICKE.

Magitians be those which by uttering of certaine superstitious words conceived, adventure to attempt things above the course of nature, by bringing forth dead mens ghosts, as they fasly [falsely] pretende, in shewing of things either secret or in places far off, and in shewing them in any shape or likenes. These wicked persons by oth or writing written

³⁶ Pp. 87, 88, of pt. 2 in the edition of 1611, which I believe (though I have used no earlier) an unchanged reprint of that of 1592-4. The briefer first edition appeared in 1590. The discerning will, I think, divine that the first sentence of the definition of magic is of older source than the remainder, which savors of the school theology; and it is only the definition of witchery which seems to me to bear a distinctly Calvinistic impress. Note how, though calling it delusion, the author revels in its details. Between these two crimes, as though gradations from one to the other, are described "South-saying Wizzards," "Divination," "Jugling," and "Inchantings and Charming."

with their own blood, having betaken themselves to the devil, have forsaken God, and broken their covenant made in baptism, and detest the benefits thereof, and worship the [divel only: And setting their only hope in him, doe execute his commandements, and being deade, commend both their bodies and soules unto him.

WITCHERIE.

A Witch or hag, is she which being [d]eluded by a league made with the divell through his perswasion, inspiration and jugling thinketh she can designe what moner of evil things soever, either by thoght or imprecation, as to shake the aire with lightnings and thunder, to cause haile and tempests, to remove green corne or trees to another place, to be caried of her familer which hath taken upon him the deceitful shape of a goate, swine, or calf etc. into some mountain far distant, in a wonderfull short space of time. And sometimes to flie upon a staffe or forke, or some other instrument. And to spend all the night after with her sweet hart, in playing, sporting, banqueting, dancing, daliance, and divers other divelish lusts, and lewd disports, and to shew a thousand such monstrous mockeries.

But during these same last years of Elizabeth Calvinism found in England an interpreter whose teachings were of more lasting potency on both sides of the sea. A style more lucid, sensible, straightforward, unpedantic, suited to catch the ear and to convince the mind of sober Englishmen, than that of the great Cambridge preacher, William Perkins, it would not be easy to conceive. And all these winning qualities belong to his "discourse of the damned art of witchcraft," which delivered before his university audience, was circulated in manuscript till his death, in 1602, and then was by his literary executors not only published and republished by itself but embodied in that standard collection of his works which for a century was to be a classic on the shelves of every Puritan divine. Though a fellow of Christ's, his relations were closest with Emmanuel College, that cradle of Puritanism, English and American. John Cotton was his convert. Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, John Harvard, were there his hearers or his readers.

Every student of New England witchcraft knows how his dicta are embodied in the books of the Mathers. Nay, Increase Mather quotes with pride the high praise paid New England by a British geographer who wrote that "as to their Religion, the people there are like Mr. Perkins."

Now, the substance of Mr. Perkins's teaching as to witchcraft was that "among us also the sinne of Witchcraft ought as sharply to be punished as in former times; and all Witches . . . ought according to the Law of Moses to be put to death." "The penaltie of Witchcraft being Death by God's appointment . . . binds us, and shall in like sort bind men in all ages"; . . . "for the most notorious traytour and rebell that can be is the Witch, for she renounceth God himselfe," and "as the killing Witch must die by another Lawe, though he were no Witch, so the healing and harmeless Witch must die by this Lawe, though he kill not, onely for covenant with Satan." "Death therefore"—thus closes the sermon—"is the just and deserved portion of the good Witch."³⁷

It was high time for English Puritanism to find for its witch theory such an advocate. Its opponents, too, were finding voice and in the highest ranks of the Anglican clergy. Certain cases of child illness or child imposture like those which a century later started the Massachusetts panic had not only given rise to charges of bewitchment, but had called into activity, both among the English Catholics and the English Puritans, men who professed to detect the witch and by supernatural aid to cure the bewitched. Against these, and notably against one John Darrel, a Puritan minister who became a sort of itinerant exorcist, the prelates called in the aid of the courts.³⁸ The controversy soon

³⁷ See his *Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (London, 1608), closing pages. Perkins advocated, too, the use of torture. Calvin, as is well known, believed also in this; and nowhere was it used more cruelly or more effectively than at Geneva.

³⁸ I am, of course, far from ascribing to the Puritans in general Darrel's views as to exorcism; yet how far they were from repudiating him may be gathered from Brook (*Puritans*, ii, 117-122), who tells us how eagerly his books were bought at Cambridge.

aired itself in print, and the spokesman of the Anglicans, Dr. Samuel Harsnett, chaplain of the Bishop of London and accounted the mouthpiece of that prelate, put forth (1599, 1603) two vigorous books, which with amazing boldness pour contempt not only on the exorcists and their claims, but on the belief in possession and witchcraft, and on all the superstitions connected with these. "Horace the Heathen," he declared, "spied long agoe that a Witch, a Wizard, and a Conjuror were but bul-beggars to scare fooles."³⁹ Now, Samuel Harsnett, from 1602 Archdeacon of Essex, was to become successively Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of Norwich, Archbishop of York; and his backer, Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, became in 1604 Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of the English Church. With such men at the head of the hierarchy—and supported, as I have found no reason to doubt, by the general opinion of their party—how was it that the persecution of witches was not laughed out of England before the Puritans came to the helm?

Ah, but then came King James. It is true that James was not a Puritan; but, as everybody knows, he was a Calvinist, and the witch question was one not of church government but of theology. All his theology was steeped in Calvinism, and everybody knows how, while still in Scotland, he had distinguished himself as a persecutor of witches. He had been stirred, too, in 1597, by "the fearful abounding at this time" in Scotland "of these detestable slaves of the divell," to put forth a book, his *Dæmonologie*, in order "to resolve the doubting hearts of manie" as to their guilt and to prove that all, regardless of sex, age, or rank, aye even "bairnes," should be put to death—"for," he says, "it is the highest

Two other obscure Puritan ministers (More and Denison) had some part in his doings or in the defense of them, and one tract in his favor has been ascribed to another, James Bamford. As to all this episode I am happy to be able now to refer to Dr. Notestein's *History of Witchcraft in England* (chapter iv, "The Exorcists").

³⁹ The rest of this striking passage may be found quoted in Dr. Notestein's work (pp. 88-89). But Harsnett's tone is the same throughout. The long titles of his books and of Darrel's may also be learned from Dr. Notestein.

point of Idolatry, wherein no exception is admitted by the law of God."⁴⁰ This book was at once republished at London when, in 1603, James mounted the English throne; and his first Parliament, in 1604, replaced the statute of Elizabeth by one yet sterner. That James's book, odd mixture of Scotch shrewdness and Scotch pedantry and full of Scotticisms in its speech, had serious influence on English thought or action, save as it seemed to give a key to the king's mind, it is not easy to believe. But to James's statute or to its colonial echoes all witches later brought to trial in England or New England owed their fate.⁴¹ Its purpose was frankly the "more severe punishing" of the offense. Its first clause reenacts the felon's death for all who "shall use, practise, or exercise any invocation or conjuration of any evil and wicked spirit"; but this Elizabethan clause—which seems to have been interpreted to mean, as it was doubtless intended to mean, only the deliberate and formal conjurer⁴²—was now reinforced by one which was clearly meant to cover all dabbling with witchcraft, and which may have aimed, like the Scottish statute, to make as penal the mere consulting of a witch. All should likewise die, said this clause, who should "consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil or wicked spirit," whatever the intent or purpose,

⁴⁰ *Dæmonologie* (ed. of 1603), preface and p. 76.

⁴¹ The colonial laws were, indeed, no mere echoes. Even more than the statute of James they were to the mind of Calvinism; for they had nothing whatever to say of *maleficium* and wholly identified the crime with the sin. Plymouth, in 1636, enumerated after treason and murder, as an "offence lyable to death," the "solemn compaction or conversing with the divell by way of witchcraft, conjuration or the like." Massachusetts, in 1641 (and, following her, Connecticut in 1642), brought the crime into more direct connection with the Ten Commandments by enacting, as the second of her "Capitall Laws" (between idolatry, the violation of the First Commandment, and blasphemy, the violation of the Third), that "If any man or woman be a witch (that is hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit), They shall be put to death." And New Haven, in 1655, not only followed the same order, but, as was her wont, made the Mosaic law her own: "If any person be a Witch, he or she shall be put to death, according to *Exod.* xxii, 18, *Levit.* xx, 27, *Deut.* xviii, 10, 11."

⁴² Thus, e. g., Edward Hartley perished under it in 1597. How little the clause was in thought or understood in the case of an ordinary witch is suggested by that of Joan Cason, who in 1586 was about to be acquitted, when a lawyer pointed out that the invocation of spirits had been made a capital crime and she was sentenced to death. But see the case, as reported by Holinshed (or rather his continuators), *Chronicles*, ed. of 1807-1808, iv, 893.

or who should for purposes of witchcraft exhume the dead or any part thereof. I need not discuss the superstitions, hideous or nauseous, which underlie this list of possible relations with demons. They betray the lettered demonologist, and opened a door to charges and to evidence hitherto little heard in England. For the witchcraft causing bodily injury the new statute next prescribes death as the penalty for the first offense (instead, as heretofore, for the second); and, for treasure-seeking, the use of love-charms, or the attempt, though unsuccessful, to work ill to the bodies or goods of others, death is to be the penalty of the second offense. Here, then, much more than in Elizabeth's statute, the essence of the crime is made to lie, not in the *maleficium* (which no longer need be charged, and, if charged, no longer need be proved), but in the sin. It is patent how this mirrors the king's own views; yet I could wish we knew more clearly the nature and the measure of his part in it.⁴³ It is at least to be noted that when, in the later years of his reign, the king's views were believed to have changed, the witch-trials, too, fell off.⁴⁴

Alas, what I had meant for a paper is growing to a treatise. To my grief I must forego the tracing further of the influence of Calvinism. I must not so much as speak of its relation to the most notable of English witch-hunts—that led by Matthew Hopkins in the eastern counties during the period of Presbyterian dominance.⁴⁵

⁴³ Edward Fairfax, the author of that translation of Tasso which James is said to have valued above all other English poetry, tells us that His "Majesty found a defect in the statutes, . . . by which none died for Witchcraft but they only who by that means killed, so that such were executed rather as murderers than as Witches." (See his *Discourse of Witchcraft*, Philobiblon Society's ed., "Preface to the Reader." I owe this passage to Dr. Notestein, having at hand only Grainger's edition, which lacks it.) I find the statement wholly credible; but we do not know the channel of his information.

⁴⁴ Dr. Notestein tells us (p. 105) that all but one of the forty or fifty people whom we know to have suffered for the crime during the reign of James perished within his first fifteen years. He has also tried (p. 105) to determine how many of these who suffered death under the law of James would not have suffered under that of Elizabeth. He finds the number known to us under James much greater; but our statistics are probably so incomplete that little importance attaches to these figures.

⁴⁵ Yet I cannot forbear, such is their pertinence to the points in question, to transcribe here some of the words with which the official commentary put forth by divines of the Westminster Assembly, in the very year (1645) when this persecution was set on foot, interpreted

More gladly yet would I attempt to point out some of the channels through which this Calvinistic view of witchcraft made its way across the sea—the men who took with them to America experience gained in English witch-trials, the wholesale migrations from regions committed most deeply to this view, the correspondence on this theme and those akin to it between the old home and the new, the return to England for education of those who were to be New England's teachers—was it not there, just at the end of the Protectorate, that the young Increase Mather was drawn into the scheme of the great Puritan commentator, Matthew Poole, for the recording on both sides of the Atlantic of those "remarkable providences" which were so long to keep alive a moribund credulity? Yes, and the pressure still on the New England mind of English sermon and tractate—notably of that Cambridge school whose loyalty to the witch theory is so well known; has not Mr. Mullinger just shown us that to Joseph Mede Cotton Mather owed even his conviction that the New World had become the special dwelling-place of the Satanic powers, now driven from the Old by the advance of Christianity?⁴⁶ Above all, I should have liked to inquire with you into the rôle played by religious party, and by

and applies the Mosaic "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" (Exod. xxii, 18): "Witchcraft is here forbidden. Deut. 18, 10 and that upon pain of death, 1 Sam. 28, 9. By *Witch* is here meant any one that hath any dealings with the Devil, by any compact or confederacy whatsoever. . . . Some have thought Witches should not dye, unless they had taken away the life of mankind; but they are mistaken, both for the art of the Witch, and for the guilt. . . . But why then must the Witch be put to death? *Ans.* Because of the league and confederacy with the Devill, which is high treason against God; because he is God's Chiefest enemy, and therefore though no hurt issue this contract at all, the Witch deserves present and certain death for the contract it self." This commentary was, it is true, not officially undertaken or revised by the Assembly; but its authors were chosen by a committee of Parliament from among the Assembly's leading divines (with but two or three additions from outside) and shared from the first the Assembly's prestige. Nor may it be forgotten that just three years before, in 1642, the great Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland (whose leaders now sat as its deputies with the Westminster Assembly) had used its new-won liberty to pass the "Act for the restraining of witchcraft" which revived the persecution in that land; nor yet that these were years when the Scottish influence was at its height and the Scottish alliance most essential to the Puritan cause. I must add that my transcript is made from the second edition of the commentary (1651), the first not being within my reach; but the words, if changed, are not likely to have been made harsher.

⁴⁶ In vol. iii, just published, of his *History of the University of Cambridge*.

its complications, political and social, in New England as in Old. Alas, for this as for so much else, I have discovered how unripe are my studies. If by something of thoroughness where I was best informed I have but shown you that the ascription of an especial responsibility to Calvinism and the Puritans is more than a loose assertion, I am content. But let it again be clearly understood that what I ascribe to the Calvinists, on either side of the sea, is only a leadership and a growing party support—an especial advocacy of the guilt of witchcraft as sin and of the duty of the Christian state to detect and punish sin.

And now for a few paragraphs, without attempt at proof or illustration, and only to give a setting to my thought, let me glance at what is left. I have discussed how the Calvinists believed in witchcraft. But, in the seventeenth century, did not everybody believe in witchcraft, at least everybody except a few of the learned? Again I must dissent, and even more earnestly. The seventeenth century saw vast change as to belief in witchcraft; yet in its darkest day—and the early seventeenth century was confessedly the age of greatest persecution—I do not believe that true. But here again we must discriminate. In *what* witchcraft did everybody believe? Dr. Buckley says—and he has given the matter study—that witchcraft is still believed in by a majority of the citizens of the United States. A month or two ago Mr. Addington Bruce, in the *Outlook*, illustrated the persistence of superstition by studying its survival in the professors at Harvard. Doubtless by a sufficient attenuation of the term the superstitions of the professors of Harvard might be included under witchcraft. Yet I doubt if Mr. Bruce or Dr. Buckley would count the professors of Harvard, or even the majority of the citizens of the United States, on the same side of the question as those who in the seventeenth century put women to death for their league with the Devil. When I hear enumerated among believers in witchcraft the free-thinking Bacon or the incredulous

Hobbes, I confess to the same hesitation. In Bacon's utterances I can find only a cautious skepticism, very thinly veiled. If Hobbes conceded that a witch should be punished, but only for her belief and intent to do mischief, he stopped far short of the Calvinists and of the statute of James, and, by making it necessary to prove against a witch, if not an actual mischief, at least an actual belief and intent, made her conviction almost impossible without the aid of torture. And, as for John Selden, his famous dictum that "if one should profess that by turning the Hat thrice, and crying Buz, he could take away a man's life," it "were a just law . . . that whosoever should turn his Hat thrice, and cry Buz, with an intention to take away a man's life, shall be put to death," was but the formulation of a principle long current in Christian jurisprudence and, however Draconian, would in England have convicted few witches. And, if either Hobbes or Selden thought that witches could thus be convicted, this was not to believe in witchcraft, but only to believe that witches believed in witchcraft—a very different matter.

What was true in the seventeenth century was not less true in the sixteenth. Nay, though to some this may bring surprise, skepticism shows itself more, not less, as one goes back toward its beginning. For—and my own study but confirms the results of other students—the truth is that skepticism had never died. The dogma as to witchcraft was a new one, and the Dominicans had had an up-hill fight to bring it in. In the early years of the sixteenth century it looked much as if they might lose that fight. Over nothing did the all-popular Humanists make more merry than over the credulity and blood-thirstiness of the monkish witch-burners. Agrippa was only the boldest of the group. If then for a time the open protests were hushed, the explanation is simple. The Church had spoken. The Lutheran revolt had discredited Humanism and she fell back on the Dominicans. The Protestant orthodoxies, also a reaction against Humanism, soon also spoke. But doubt

was only silenced, not convinced. The Church spoke because skepticism was rampant; and so did the Protestant orthodoxies. Even Calvin, in whose hearing, if anywhere, doubt would have been dumb, tells us of "the notion which some conceited persons entertain that all these things are fabulous and absurd"; and there is not one of the many defenders of the superstition who does not complain of the numbers, the eminence, and the influence of these doubters.

In England, as we have seen, the persecution was slow in asserting itself, and I believe that there, from the first, the doubters were especially numerous. I am not ready to attempt to point them out, nor should I here take space. In Dr. Notestein's book they may be met at every turn; yet by no means all of them, for his gaze has been fixed mainly elsewhere. If any seeker has failed to find them, I fear it is because he has not looked in the right places. Bear with me and I will suggest a few cautions which I should blush to formulate, were they not so often overlooked.

In the first place, I should not look chiefly among the theologians, or even among the jurists. Theirs are the most conservative of professions—each in the field of its own training—and each profession was early committed to a definite doctrine on this subject. If I did look among these, it should not be first at those who have written comprehensive treatises. These are the men of systems. They are the men of soundness. Were they not so, they would hardly have written treatises, or, if they wrote treatises, would not easily have found a publisher. And if among these I did find doubters—and even among them doubters may be found—I should guess that others had led the way. Again—and I trust I may be pardoned this treason to my cloth—I should not look first among teachers, university or other. They are men of books, not of life; and they were more so then than now. They are often doctrinaires; and this question was one for common sense. Too often they too have a position to keep, an orthodoxy to main-

tain. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth century they were even sworn to that orthodoxy. I would not look at all among the gossips or the journalists. It was their business to find stories and to tell them. They have furnished us much of what we call history; but we take them much more seriously than did their neighbors.

I would look among the men of practical affairs, the men in touch with people and with facts; men of business, men of society, men of politics, men of travel, physicians, pastors. Yet, even among these, I should not listen first to those who talk—whether in books or outside them. Ah, we who fancy ourselves the world's thinkers because we have fallen upon the knack or the habit of being its talkers, how do we forget the long pedigree of common sense!

And, wherever one looks, one must not look for a denial, in so many words, of "the reality of witchcraft." That would be absurd. Nobody denies that now, however, we have grown used to the careless phrase. All that anybody denies is the reality of what somebody else *calls* witchcraft. Just so it was in that old day; only the word had to be dealt with more cautiously. Whoever accepted the authority of the Bible—and who then ventured to question it?—must, of course, have in his mind a notion of something which deserved the name of witchcraft (or, at least, the Hebrew and Greek names he found translated by witchcraft) and which—once if not now—deserved death as its penalty. Of course, to that extent all Christians believed in witchcraft. It did not at all follow that they believed witches those whom their neighbors called so, or believed real what their neighbors laid to their charge. That was what signified—to them and us. Even if they did not believe, it did not follow that they must deny. Sensible men are not given to denial of what they cannot disprove, but only to doubt or to suspension of judgment. Nor let us expect that doubt to be always uttered. Utterance is not the only way—not always the best—for doubt to be effective, or for doubt to leave its trace in history. And when

the doubter spoke, it must not mislead if he was not extreme. The tactful reasoner does not claim too much, and they who doubt are oftenest men of caution, to whom assertion is repugnant. If he will win to mercy, he may even make display of sternness on all points except that which is cardinal—just as, on the other hand, we often find the harshest making most parade of moderation. Such rhetorical devices do not deceive us as to our contemporaries, but they have led historians to some wild judgments.

Nor need the doubter much indulge in labored logic. As for "these proofs and arguments," so wrote in 1588 Montaigne, the arch-doubter, of what were urged on him as proofs of witchcraft, "I do not pretend to unravel them. I often cut them, as Alexander did the knot. After all, it is rating our opinions high to roast other people alive for them." When a Montaigne could count it prudent to write thus, how long must he and other level-headed folk have found it wise to act thus? Can anybody really suspect Michel de Montaigne of being a pioneer? Everybody knows the *mot* of Shaftesbury when after the Restoration he was asked his religion: "Madam, wise men are of but one religion." "And which is that?" "Madam, wise men never tell." It was often safer in the seventeenth century to tell one's religion than one's honest opinion of witchcraft.

But such as these, it may be answered, as of Scot and Webster, were not "scientific rationalists." I am not sure that I understand the term. Universal doubters they certainly were not. Such are few to-day—and it is perhaps as well. Men who used in their own century the science of the next they, of course, were not; history will find none in our day. But if it be scientific rationalism to trust one's human intellect, one's human heart, against the dicta of authority in such things as one's human faculties can test, those old days had many worthy of the name.

Nor do such doubters as to witchcraft seem to me mere isolated men of sense. Largely they can be grouped

under certain great lines of thought. The great Erasmian trend, the heir of Humanism, holding its place between Romanist and Protestant to the century's end, and nowhere more potently than in England; the great lay trend, out of which grew the separatist sects, and, what was more, a growing body of independents or eclectics who trimmed between the faiths or blurred their edges; the great Latitudinarian trend, born of the reaction against Calvinist harshness and spreading with Arminianism to England from that day when John Hales, the ever memorable, listening at the Synod of Dort as England's observer, "bade John Calvin good-night"; the great "natural" movement, which at the hands of jurists and philosophers held so large a place in seventeenth-century thought; the great, albeit so patient, movement of experimental science, of which not Bacon but Harvey was the best English representative: it is along such lines as these that doubt and protest seem to me to cluster. Even the Cambridge Platonists, whose belated credulity has been to some so puzzling, fall into line when one discerns how largely this credulity was but the premise of a philosophic creed. Exceptions of course there were in every group—else might we forget that such groups are only bodies of free men bound by a common purpose.⁴⁷ And let not this attempt to classify obscure my conviction that, whatever the pressure of education or environment, there was always room for character, too, to echo or protest.

It will be urged, however, that these doubters were, after all, but a minority. What the majority, counted by the head, may have believed, I do not know. I do not know how to find out. Doubtless those who believed

⁴⁷ Such an exception among Anglicans was Edward Fairfax, "I intreat you to be assured," he says to his readers, "that for myself I am in religion neither a fantastic Puritan nor superstitious Papist." But his own words suggest that he fears his zeal against those whom he accuses of bewitching his children may stamp him as a Papist or a Puritan; and his complaints of the incredulity of the magistrates, low and high, and of the "divines and physicians" "who attribute too much to natural causes," with his lament that the witches, when examined, "wanted not both counsellors and supporters of the best," show his consciousness of isolation. (See his *Discourse on Witchcraft*, ed. Grainge, Harrogate, 1882—pp. 32, 36, and *passim*.)

made the most noise. I suspect that, counted by the head, the majority was, as usual, on the side of the latest speaker—and most of the speakers were against the witches. Probably it believed in the church and doubted on the street. If “belief” means to believe *something* as to witches, everybody believed; if it means to believe *everything*, everybody doubted. Doubtless there were as many different shades as to belief as there were souls; and, as there was no vote to be given, doubtless few found it necessary to take careful measure of their own opinions.

But what has all this to do with New England? I am sadly aware how little my paper has justified its title. Yet all I have urged has had New England as its goal. It was only a running start I meant to take, and, though I have reached the jumping-off place before I am ready, I am going to make the jump. I cannot acquit our ancestors on the ground that their belief in witchcraft was universal or was not discreditable or was more logical than disbelief. On the contrary I am forced to admit that it was superstitious and bigoted and cruel, even by the standards of their own time; that they clung to it when it was dying out in all but the most belated parts of Christendom; that, though in a few sequestered regions, the trials dribbled on yet for a century, their final panic was the last on such a scale in any Christian land.⁴⁸ Their transatlantic home I cannot think an excuse. New homes have always made new men, and no new home has more proved its emancipating power than has America. Its very discovery set men dreaming of freedom. Here Thomas More placed that No Man's Land where all old fetters, social and religious, were unknown. Here the more practical dreamers planted their colonies for the working out of every fresh experiment in human living. Hither came the men who had broken, or were eager to break, the bonds of prejudice and of convention; and four centuries have proved

⁴⁸ That the latest witch-hanging in England was in 1682, ten years before the Salem outbreak, and that the tales of later executions are but the work of literary shysters, is convincingly shown by Dr. Notestein (pp. 375-382).

the soundness of their hope. One thing is sure: we must not blow hot and cold with the same breath. If our fathers were the helpless victims of circumstance, then they were not its masters. If they were the blameless heirs of superstition, then they were not

“men of present valor, stalwart old iconoclasts, Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that all virtue is the past’s.”

For my part, I cannot plead for them the baby act. Mitigating elements I can see. If they *must* follow Old-World fashions, they must be content, of course, to get them last and keep them latest. If they *could* believe such crimes of their neighbors, they were at least men who met them by action. If that action was cruel, it was but the carrying out, in spirit and letter, of a law which, within the limits of conscience, they doubtless counted themselves bound to enforce. I am not asking you to think them worse than the neighbors who shrank into the background and took sides for neither justice nor mercy, belief nor doubt. I am far from arguing that, take them all in all, they were worse men than they who bravely stood against them. Their opponents, too, had doubtless the faults of their own qualities. But, if this be to acquit them, they would themselves have scorned the subterfuge. They were disciples of Him whose message was “Be ye perfect,” ancestors of him who bids us hitch our wagon to a star. When the light at length dawned on them, not their stubborn pride, not their fierce convictions, not their predestinarian theology, could make them seek excuse in good intentions, in circumstances, or in providence. Confessing “I have sinned,” they made amends as best they could; and therefore in New England, as nowhere else within my knowledge, the matter ended—and for good and all. From that day till this no corner of the earth has been so free from cruel superstitions.

Ah, “till this.” The horizon is by no means free from clouds. Though the name of “belief in witchcraft” is now in disrepute, I am not so sure as is Professor

Kittredge as to the superstition and the cruelty for which it stood. That old witch-mania was no survival of the Middle Ages. It was born and came to its prime in centuries which saw the greatest burst of Christian civilization. If I would have History unflinching, it is not because I think we are better than our fathers. It is because deep in ourselves I feel still stirring the impulses which led to their mistakes. It is because I fear that they who begin by excusing their ancestors may end by excusing themselves. May History do so unto us and more also if through blindness to their failings we repeat their faults.

THE RUINS AT TIAHUANACO.

BY ADOLPH FRANCIS BANDELIER.

I cannot pretend to offer anything approximately comparable to the learned and elaborate works published on Tiahuanaco by Dr. Stuebel and Dr. Max Uhle¹, or in any way analogous to E. J. Squier's brilliant descriptions.² Our stay at Tiahuanaco was limited to nineteen days, during which time I found myself sorely tried by the effects of altitude³ and of the not over-salubrious climate. The prohibition, by the Bolivian Government, to excavate in or about the ruins, rendered all subsoil investigation impossible and our limited collections were obtained almost by way of contraband; through purchase from Indians, who mostly came at night to avoid the vigilance of the authorities. Hence surveying of the ruins, observations on the nature of the country and on Indian customs, fragments of folk-tales, and some data from ancient church-books, constituted the fruits of our activity there. A provisional Museum, destined to preserve the antiquities of Tiahuanaco, had been recently opened at that village, and we saw in the rudimentary collection a number of specimens illustrating the type of artefacts. The larger carved blocks which this little Museum contained, displayed the uncouth and angular style of sculpture peculiar to the well-known monoliths. The pottery found at Tiahuanaco shows three distinct types. One seems to be peculiar to the site, as nowhere else, as far as known, is it met with, except as intrusive specimens. It is supposed to be the work of the unknown people who built the edifices now in a condition of lamentable ruin, and who carved the

famous monoliths. The style of ornamentation, as can readily be seen, is original and while there may be, as Dr. Uhle stated to the writer, a trace of Tiahuanaco influence in ceramics of other points in Peru and Bolivia, it is so distinct and characteristic, that we may admit it as due to the inhabitants from a time of which only the dimmest traces of recollections have survived.

The characteristic Inca or Cuzco pottery comes next. Inca visits to Tiahuanaco took place probably in the fifteenth century and the specimens found are, in all likelihood, imported, and were not manufactured on the spot.

Finally there is a third class, which may be called Aymará, since it is identical with the vessels found everywhere in Aymará ruins, so-called "Chullpas," over the Puna, and was continued with modifications during historic times. That pottery may have been partly coeval with the oldest forms. We do not know if the Aymará then occupied the country or not. But it is certainly, in part, contemporaneous with the appearance of the Incas, and with the earlier times of Spanish domination. All these types are represented (or were in 1894), at the rudimentary Museum of which I speak.

Of metallic objects, especially in copper and bronze, there were at the Museum quite a number, and among these, T-shaped clamps. Textures and wooden cups presented little that was of special note, although we saw two Keros or sacrificial cups well painted and decorated with carvings in relief.⁴ In short, the Museum was a fair beginning, if one takes into consideration the character of the people and the difficulties in the way of gathering and preserving relics of the past.

The situation of Tiahuanaco is peculiar. A long and not very wide valley descends towards the shores of Lake Titicaca. On the east, this valley is bordered by a crest dividing it from the plateau Puna. On the west runs a similar ridge culminating in a peak called Quimsa-Chata.⁵ Hence Tiahuanaco lies in a trough that slopes very gently to the lake. The width of that trough varies, nowhere exceeding three miles. At the

village itself the trough comes to a sudden break or step. The stretch separating Tiahuanaco from the shores of the lake at Huaqui,⁶ is wider than the valley higher up, and the sudden break at the pueblo has created the belief that the lake formerly extended as far. Hence one of the interpretations of the word "Tiahuanaco" rests on the assumption that it meant originally "dry shore," in Aymará. Monoliths, similar to those at Tiahuanaco, have been found by Dr. Max Uhle on or near the lake-shore at Uakullani; there exist some at Pilapi, four leagues from the ruins, and other partly sculptured stones are said to lie on the flanks of Quimsa-Chata.

This bears on the question of the origin of the rock out of which the monoliths are carved. The point has always been raised, how such enormous blocks could have been placed there. It was suggested that, many of them being andesite, the nearest point whence they could have been obtained was the peninsula of Copacavana. It has been overlooked, that a number of the carved blocks are of the permian sandstone cropping out at Tiahuanaco. This is not the case with the material of the great doorway and other large and small pieces, but the tallest column and many other sculptured pieces are of the reddish sandstone underlying the soil. Mr. Sundt, who is quite an authority on Bolivian geology and lithology, has suggested that the andesite blocks of Tiahuanaco are erratic.⁷ This does away with part of the mystery. The existence of similar sculptures in other regions contiguous to the lake (as at Kalaki on the peninsula of Huata) and elsewhere on that same peninsula, was ignored or overlooked.

The general plan made by me of the surface ruins cannot be reproduced here. Excavations being prohibited, I could not penetrate the soil and secure more data on the original extent of architectural vestiges. The main question is, where were the *abodes* of the people that raised the monuments. Not a single construction has been found, indicating a house. Since

Tiahuanaco was first seen by the Spaniards no mention has been made of dwellings. And yet the church of Tiahuanaco, and many of the *actual* houses, are built of stones from the ruins, and when one asks for the place whence these blocks were taken, the usual reply is that they came from the surroundings of the main mounds. Trenches and grooves have been shown to us with the remark, that they had contained the foundations of smaller buildings that seemed to have been houses. The size and outline of these dugouts would indicate that the dwellings of the ancient people of Tiahuanaco were about of the dimensions and form of actual Indian houses on the Puna. The fact of the matter is, that attention has only been paid to the striking remains of Tiahuanaco, and the more modest features neglected, although the most important, because illustrative of the mode of living of the people. But since it has been so, it is well to cast a glance at the striking features and what they indicate.

Two eminences, certainly natural, attract attention at once. One is a mound, and by no means the only one in the vicinity; the narrow vale is dotted with such accumulations of reddish earth. The other is a gradual rise, with red permian rocks cropping out in a few places. The former is called Akka-pana, the latter, Puma-puncu. I do not venture to etymologize the name of the former, for if there has been a place in creation where etymologizing has run riot, it is Tiahuanaco, and I leave it to learned men to discuss words. Puma-Puncu has never had its meaning disputed, hence I simply adopt what everybody else says that is: that it means in Aymará the door or gate of the Puma, or cougar, or American panther.⁸ It is impossible to surmise why it bears that name, for nothing in the aspect of the vestiges bears any relation to that animal. Nor does it seem certain that either of these names is original; they may have arisen during the early period of Spanish colonization. In parenthesis I would observe, that the Jesuit Father Bernabé Cobo, in his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, from

the early part of the seventeenth century, states that the proper name for Tiahuanaco is Taypi-kala, or stone in the middle or center.⁹ This designation is legitimately Indian, since it agrees with the Indian's habit of considering his pueblo as the middle of his known world.

The Mound of Akka-pana seems to have been, not merely surrounded, but even to a certain extent plated, with a wall of well dressed stones, paralleloppipeds of andesite, fitted without binding-material. In the center of the mound is a depression similar to a deep excavation to the level of the surrounding plain. On its upper rim lie scattered blocks, carved and polished, that may have belonged to some courtyard or enclosure. Rows of similar blocks, of smaller size, stand to one side on the summit. But there is so little left, and what remains is so disconnected, that no conclusions are possible. Foundations of edifices are not visible. In a rent, descending towards the north, are what may be the two sides of a narrow channel encased by polished stones. A few large blocks, fairly cut and rubbed, lie scattered on the slopes.¹⁰

Along the northern base of Akka-pana are the great courtyards formed by huge prismatic stone pillars. In the outer of these courts stands the sculptured gateway. It was, time ago, rent by a thunderbolt. The tall statue which stands in the same courtyard and south of the gateway was placed upright in modern times. It was lying on the ground nearby. Afterwards, unfortunately, this monolith was used as a target by infantry soldiers, so that the face is considerably damaged.

Rows of erect stones, some rude, others cut in the form of prisms, seem to indicate the former existence of other enclosures more or less connected with the mound. Between Akka-pana and the village of Tiahuanaco are similar remains. Some of the blocks are very large. Southwest of Akka-pana, between it and the site called Puma-puncu, stands a rectangular gateway, apparently isolated. Not far from it lies prostrate a group of curious monoliths representing uncouth human

figures, one of which measures not less than eighteen feet in length. One of its ends shows that it formerly stood upright. It is impossible to determine if this gateway and the monoliths occupy their original position.¹¹

East, or rather east-north-east, from Akka-pana, is a group of huge slabs to which the Indians of Tiahuanaco give the name of Kalisasaya. The principal of these is approximately quadrangular with an artificial rectangular depression, into which lead diminutive steps. I refrain from giving a detailed description since this stone has been photographed frequently and since the late E. G. Squier has devoted some speculation as to its possible object. More elaborate yet are the very careful observations of Messrs. Stuebel and Uhle.¹² Rows of erect stones seem to be connected with this mysterious slab. It lies in a hollow and may still be in its original position.

The site called Puma-puncu is located south of the village and southwest of Akka-pana. Apparently, there is no connection between the two places, still we have traced vestiges of enclosures on the level between them. Both were evidently parts of one complex. Puma-puncu is a natural eminence, a gently sloping ridge. On its northern side lie several carved blocks of considerable thickness. But the main feature of Puma-puncu is the platform of stone ruthlessly shattered for the purpose of treasure-seeking. Its chief feature are the seats of stone cut in its surface and which have led to the popular belief that it was a place of justice. It seems that it was carved out of the rock *in situ*. Smaller carved prisms, but of andesite, in rows, are seen near and around it as well as on the hill itself. There is nothing about this monument or its surroundings, that gives a clue to its original purpose.¹³

Taking into account the area covered by all the vestiges about Tiahuanaco, to the furthest corner stone or isolated pillar; supposing besides, that this whole area was covered with dwellings, and allowing for each inhabitant the smallest possible space, we could not assign

to the original population a greater number than six thousand souls. But this rough guess has no value since we have no knowledge of the character of the buildings. That Tiahuanaco once was a settlement admits of no doubt. The mere fact that the oldest traditions mention a people who lived there and the manner in which that people became extinct, proves it. That the inhabitants disappeared previous to the fifteenth century seems equally certain. At least, if those who were found on the spot by the Inca tribe of Cuzco were their descendants, they no longer dwell in the ancient edifices, having modified their manner of living. Such changes were not unusual among sedentary Indians. I recall the Pimas of southern Arizona, who claim to have built and occupied the great edifices of Casa grande, Casa blanca and others along the lower Gila river, whereas their descendants, when first met with by whites, dwelt in circular huts like those inhabited by them to-day. At the time when the northern Pimas had relapsed into a more primitive style of living, their southern relatives, the Pimas of central Sonora, still preserved the solid architecture of large adobe buildings, and it is to the early reports on this southern branch and their abodes that we owe our knowledge of the purpose of the ancient buildings in Arizona.¹⁴ Hence the fact that Tiahuanaco was in ruins when the Incas first visited it does not necessarily militate against a possibility of its builders having been ancestors of the Aymará Indians.

That there existed dwellings in former times is beyond doubt. That they are not mentioned by earlier visitors, from the sixteenth century for instance, is pardonable. The statues, huge slabs and portals monopolized their attention just as, even now, they absorb the attention of visitors. Nobody has inquired into the origin of the thousands of small prismatic blocks of andesite, quadrangular as well as polygonal, of which the walls of the church at Tiahuanaco are built and with which some of the narrow streets of that village are partly paved.

Much of this material has, also, entered into the construction of the actual dwellings. And these blocks were not cut lately, they were found in their present shape.¹⁵ I was shown depressions rivalling, in size and contour, what would be the result, if ruins in the Cordillera were removed and only the foundations left. I was assured that from these depressions, which are at best two feet in depth, floors or pavements of small cut blocks like those mentioned were taken out. Hence I do not regard it as impossible that the plan and size of dwellings of the builders of Tiahuanaco might have been similar to that of ancient houses in the Bolivian Cordillera or on the peninsula of Huata.

Residents of places where ruins exist are always liberal in offering explanations. Every one nearly has some suggestion to make, and, in the course of time, what originally is a surmise assumes the shape of a fact. It is therefore with reluctance, to say the least, that I repeat explanations given us about "dwellings" of the builders of ancient Tiahuanaco. I was assured, for instance, that, while the floors of the houses were of cut stone, the buildings themselves were of adobe. The red soil of the valley makes a very tough adobe.

That soil is fertile, but permeated with water. Aside from several springs, some of which show vestiges of having been enclosed and provided with conduits of cut stone in ancient times, the surface of the ruins is dotted with pools that do not even disappear in the driest season. When it rains, many fields become swamps. The stream proper is not deep, and partakes of the nature of a mountain torrent. Channels of stone have been dug up in the fields around the main ruins and inside of ancient enclosures. There exists at La Paz a grooved slab, the groove forming an elbow. Such channels were not, at Tiahuanaco, needed for irrigation. They may have been intended for drainage.¹⁶ I refer to what I have written, eleven years ago, on the so-called Baths of the Inca on the Island of Titicaca, where the drainage of the hills was collected in long troughs

behind the walls of Andenes, emptying into open conduits down the slope to the lake. At Tiahuanaco wherever the soil is dug to a comparatively small depth, water rises to the surface. The site of the present village lies higher than the ruins, hence is drier. But if it should be true, as nearly everybody asserts, that in former times the lake bathed the foot of the eminence on which the present village stands, it is possible that the people of old did not occupy that eminence, but used it as a natural rampart against possible encroachments of the lake.¹⁷ It may be, therefore, that the stone floors had the object of securing dryness to ancient houses.

Why the old inhabitants of Tiahuanaco should have selected a site for residence that had the great disadvantage of being moist may be explained through the fact that, by settling on a higher level, agricultural possibilities would have been minimized. The valley narrows, and the climate becomes colder. The haciendas are not farms, but what might be termed "cattle ranches." Hence the original builders of Tiahuanaco descended as far as possible, down to the original limits of the lake.

There they struck a building material unique in its way. It is stated that on the height of Quimsa-chata, some ten or twelve miles to the southeast of Tiahuanaco, is found the andesite which composes a large proportion of the material used in the monuments of Tiahuanaco.¹⁸ But there are, at the ruins, a number of blocks of portentous size, that are untouched; there are also a certain number touched by cutting. Either there has been a systematic importation of stone, on a scale equalling transportation of building material in modern times, and with means unknown, or else the material existed there already. The latter is the opinion of two persons, one of whom I have the honor of knowing intimately, whereas the other I merely know through his works. The former is my friend, Mr. Alexander L. Dun, and the latter, Mr. Sundt, a lithologist of distinction. The

sedentary American aborigine needs, for existence, comparatively little. He requires land of sufficient fertility to yield modest crops. He requires water, building material, and security from enemies. The chase and fishing need not be mentioned, for, with the lake nearby and the supply of meat afforded by the vicuña, and the llama as a domestic animal, these conditions were readily filled. At Tiahuanaco, the soil is fertile enough and the climate not too cold for raising indigenous staples: potatoes, quina, and oca. Maize cannot grow there, and flourishes at only a few places on the puna. But with the vegetables enumerated and with whatever meat indigenous animals gave, the Indian lived, even exceptionally well. Water there is in abundance and the lake afforded fishing. The building material could, of course, not be wood. But the erratic blocks spread over the locality and the slopes encasing the valley, induced the Indian to use them for erecting permanent shelters. In those altitudes, the first requisite was that man should be protected from cold. The tribe that settled at Tiahuanaco (for causes unknown) had only two materials at their disposal: adobe and stone. Of their use of adobe we have no evidence.

Since stone was used by preference at Tiahuanaco it must have been comparatively abundant. The supposition that it was shipped to the place from points on the lake, by a people who have not left any trace at those points, is very ingenious. But we have, nearer at hand, the fact that an abundance of erratic blocks are scattered over the site of the ruins and over the slopes encasing the valley, and that, furthermore, many of the blocks are carved out of the rock *in situ*. Hence the material was on the spot. To cut it and carve it was the only question.

Copper tools occur in relative abundance and to a lesser degree, implements of the accidental bronze found promiscuously through South American ruins. Either of these materials is hard enough to cut the stone used at Tiahuanaco. The smelting of copper was, as our finds

in other parts of the country prove, known among the Quichuas. There is one peculiarity in the Tiahuanaco ruins. The huge stones have, in many instances, been fastened together by copper clamps, T, or rather I shaped, and these clamps are cast! This shows not merely that the art of casting in rude moulds was known to the people, but it also denotes considerable ingenuity in architectural contrivances. To use metallic fastenings in stone work is rather exceptional among primitive people. Still, if the workmanship on the carved blocks is carefully examined it will be seen that the adjustment was approximate. In order to fasten together horizontal slabs, contact was not sufficient. The wall on the outside of Akkapana needed no clamps; mere superposition held it, but the horizontal fragments of enormous size at Puma-puncu had to be tied by something more ductile than stone, and less bulky. Hence copper (or bronze) were resorted to.¹⁹ There are also holes drilled to a certain depth into many blocks; Mr. Squier has suggested that they were made to insert bars of copper destined to hold together vertical pieces. No such bars have been found as yet.²⁰

In regard to the implements with which the erratic blocks as well as the rock *in situ* at Tiahuanaco were cut and carved, the finds of artefacts only reveal the existence of copper and bronze tools. We saw no stone hammers, but, as no excavations were permitted, we are not prepared to formulate any opinion. There must have been tools for breaking as well as for cutting, and it is more likely that the former were of stone than of the few sites, in Bolivia, where obsidian flakes and chips occur, but whatever artefacts we gathered or saw of that mineral were only arrowheads or occasional awls. Nothing larger came to our notice. The implements used for the elaborate sculptures and for cutting faces and angles of building stones, may therefore not have been of obsidian. That for the transport of large blocks, wooden rollers and levers were used, is presumable. We saw just as large blocks as any of those at Tiahuanaco,

scattered over the valley at the foot of the hill of Sillustani near Puna. These blocks, it was clearly seen, had been moved by means of ropes and levers. Whether the people of Tiahuanaco used ropes is not known, but we found and sent to the museum, from other parts of Bolivia, specimens of quite thick, though much decayed, roping.

I am informed by Mr. Alexander L. Dun that at a place called Huan-kollu, not far from Tiahuanaco, huge blocks of andesite are found and that there are traces of these blocks having been transported down hill by means of levers of wood.²¹

The occurrence of artefacts of obsidian is not limited to Tiahuanaco. A zone of obsidian finds extends from there as far north as the village of Pucarani, some eight leagues from La Paz and about four leagues from the port of Chililaya. The ancient name of the height overlooking that village was, according to Calancha, Quesca-Marca, signifying in Aymará: "village or place of flint," and thus called from the abundance of flint and obsidian fragments (including arrow heads) found there. Dr. Uhle collected quite a large number of arrow-heads on that site. In the first days of 1897 we went to the Hacienda of Santa Ana, distant four leagues from Pucarani, where the original settlement and stronghold of Pucarani probably stood.²² It was our purpose to investigate that site first, then proceed to Pucarani and afterwards, following the traces of obsidian, reach Tiahuanaco, in order to find out where obsidian exists *in situ*. The Indians drove us away. All we noticed was that the slopes of the two heights overlooking the Hacienda, while abundantly covered with broken remains of stone implements, showed no trace of obsidian. Hence it would seem that the site of, or some site near, Pucarani is the northern terminus of the obsidian region. At Tiahuanaco proper we found no signs of natural occurrence of either obsidian or flint.

The Indians of the region called Pacajes (now a Province of the Department of La Paz) where Tiahuan-

aco is located, were probably the only ones in central and northern Bolivia who used the bow and the flint (or obsidian) tipped arrow.²³ It is perhaps a question whether the occurrence of the material naturally led to the manufacture of the implements and their use, or whether the art of chipping was imported. Strange it appears that neither arrow-shafts nor bows have been found as yet. The tall reed (*titora*) growing in Lake Titicaca, may have furnished the material for shafts and light spears, also for throwing-sticks. None of the latter have, to my knowledge, ever been found, which is not conclusive proof that they did not exist. The nearest timber on the east can be reached, from Pucarani, in about two days, by steady walking. ²⁴Whether the builders of Tiahuanaco themselves chipped arrowheads is uncertain, as these artefacts have almost invariably been picked up on the surface.

Flint implements are abundantly found on the northern coast of Chile.²⁵ We sent, from the vicinity of Arica, quite a number of flint-arrowheads and some flint-knives, dug up with well preserved skeletons. Cieza has preserved a tradition, according to which a tribe or band of Chilean Indians, in times of remotest antiquity, crossed the passes of the coast-range to the shores of Lake Titicaca.²⁶

Carved monoliths exist elsewhere in the vicinity of the lake. They are not the heirloom of a particular tribe or people, but the natural outcome of a certain degree of culture, brought in contact with the proper material.

The monoliths at Kalaki and other points on the peninsula of Huata are very nearly as tall as those of Tiahuanaco. Their style is ruder, but not so angular. Those of Chavin de Huantar in central eastern Peru resemble, through their ornamentation, the Tiahuanaco art more closely; they seem like an intermediate between it and the sculptures of Copan and Palenque.²⁷ This is said with the very positive reserve that I do not intimate any relationship between peoples so very

remote from each other as the inhabitants of Chiapas and Honduras, Peru and Bolivia.

Of the interpretations of the carvings of Tiahuanaco, especially of those on the great doorway, I only wish to say that since we know nothing of their makers, I hold it absolutely idle to speculate on supposed symbols. We have no means of surmising even, whether those sculptures were intended to be symbolical. They may be reproductions of living beings, conventionalized, or imperfect. At the Museum of La Paz (one of the most interesting and attractive collections, although a heterogeneous agglomeration) there are a few specimens of stone-sculptures of animals purporting to have come from Tiahuanaco and which are not absolutely without resemblance to nature. Ancient Tiahuanaco pottery has heads of condors and of pumas or tigers vigorously executed and supposed to have been made by the people who carved the monoliths, but positive evidence we have not.²⁸

Leaning against the outer walls of the church of Tiahuanaco, are two large statues, representing each, a sitting or squatting human form. They are so disfigured that it is impossible to appreciate their original degree of perfection. It is my impression that they are simply representations of people in their ancient costume. That costume, as well as the garments on the tall monolith at the foot of Akka-pana, appears like that described as worn by the Aymarás at the time of the conquest.²⁹

One of the chief wonders of Tiahuanaco has always been the cutting and joining of the stone-work. But no attention has been paid to its imperfections. The edges and planes, the angles and faces, do not bear the test of the level and of the square. It is rule of thumb, patiently carried out, Indian fashion, and regardless of time. We have tested many specimens and found nowhere the perfection so loudly praised.³⁰ In that respect, the ruins of Tiahuanaco recall to a certain extent the ruins of Mitla, with their tall, round pillars, their

enormous lintels, and the walls plated with carefully rubbed flags neatly joined by superposition, but devoid of symmetry. The stone work of Tiahuanaco is by no means superior to that of Sillustani and Cuzco.

The nomenclature applied to the different parts of the ruins is absolutely valueless. Names like: "the fortress," "court or seat of Justice," "temple," etc., etc., have no meaning unless supported by original tradition. With Tiahuanaco we lack completely that support. The rows of stones, the great pillars, indicate enclosures, inferior in size to the enormous ones on the Peruvian coast. We miss, at Tiahuanaco, the rudiments of every reasonable basis even for conjecture. Tradition, as far as known, gives no clue to the purpose of edifices, the sad wreck of which we contemplate. That this wreck dates chiefly from times anterior to the Spanish conquest is a well-known fact.³¹

The traditions concerning these ruins only tends to indicate that they may be quite ancient for that part of South America. They are chiefly connected with myths of the creation of the human race, and in their present form include Christian, hence intrusive, elements.³² These tales, it may be, gave rise to the name "taypikala" (stone of the middle or center) which was known in the seventeenth century as the Aymar^á name for the place. Tiahuanaco is a riddle which we must not despair of solving, but which at present defies the ingenuity of speculation.

We tried very hard to secure some ancient folklore from the Tiahuanaco Indians, but with very little result. Our ignorance of the Aymar^á language may be one of the reasons for that failure, but we know that many who are conversant with that idiom failed, also. We secured some talk from an old man, but he was most unreliable. He told us that the large stones out of which the monoliths are made were originally lying on the slopes north of Tiahuanaco, and that the "Gentiles" kicked them down into the valley, without the aid of mechanical appliances. Once at the bottom, the "Gen-

tiles" lifted them up by mere bodily strength, bruising their hands and bodies so that the blood used to stream down. These "Gentiles" were, according to him, precursors of the people who lived in the "Chullpas" or ruins scattered so profusely over the puna. The age when the "Gentiles" flourished was the age of God-Father and the "Gentiles" were destroyed by a flood, which destruction our informant called "Juicio-uma" or judgment of water or by water. Thereupon came the second age, that of the Chullpas: these people, when the sun appeared for the first time, stood on their heads, and for that reason their houses fell in and crushed them, and this is why the bodies in the "Chullpas" are all in a squatting posture. Informant also said that at the time of the "Gentiles" there was but one "Inca," but that when the Chullpas lived, there were a great number. The present age will end with the judgment of fire "Juicio-nina" and then will come the age of the Holy Ghost about which nothing is known. The Christian element in these stories is manifest. But the statement that the "Gentiles" and the "Chullpas" (who are the ancient Aymarás) were not contemporaneous, (if authentic) would indicate that the ancient people of Tiahuanaco were anterior to the "Chullpas" or that at least they were of a different stock. Some fragments of traditions which we secured from settlers do not even deserve to be mentioned.

I must yet mention a feature which we noticed at the village. We obtained several skulls. Some among them show the artificial deformity peculiar to older Aymará crania, namely: flattening of the forehead. This custom, limited to males, was in general use at the time of the conquest and it required severe edicts from the Viceroy, especially from Don Francisco de Toledo in the years between 1570 and 1575, to abolish it.³³ Hence artificial flattening was practiced by the Indians of Bolivia until the close of the sixteenth century, if not later. Now the village of Tiahuanaco rests, as we have seen ourselves, on a thin layer of ashes, human and

animal bones; also skulls! This layer is at a depth of from two to three feet beneath the surface, its thickness varying from a few inches to a foot and more, and the crania are deposited in it promiscuously. We could not hear of any artefacts having been met with, but this is no proof of their non-existence. Whether the skulls found in that layer are of the oldest inhabitants or not we could not determine.

The present Indians of Tiahuanaco and those whom the Spaniards found on the site are and were Aymarás. They spoke, and speak, what Bertonio has called the Pacajes dialect.³⁴ Some contend that it is the purest Aymará, but it might be very difficult to prove it, since we do not know where the original center of that stock must be looked for. In personal appearance they differ not from the Indians of the Puna, and their dress is the same. The men are usually of strong build, rather good sized, the women less prepossessing. In mode of living and degree of uncleanness they are like the others, they are as unfriendly towards the whites, as hostile to progress as any others of the stock. Their respect for relics of the past is slight, but whenever a foreigner attempts to touch these, they oppose it while still eager to sell what they can gather of antiquities themselves, and not at all backwards in defacing or even destroying monuments. The same old man who told us the would-be folktales related, is engaged since many years in manufacturing troughs, mortars, and other articles out of the carved blocks strewn over the ruins. Many a sculptured stone has been cut up by him and the fragments turned into articles of husbandry, and none of the Indians take umbrage at it.³⁵ The Aymará harbor a superstition that the bones of the dead may penetrate their bodies whenever disturbed, and thus produce diseases and even death. But withal they do not hesitate to trample on these bones or to kick about and crush the skulls.

It was at Tiahuanaco that we obtained our first insight into the social organization and some of the

superstitions of the Aymarás. What follows, applies exclusively to that place and its surroundings.

I knew, a long time ago, that the Indians of Bolivia and Peru were divided into gentes or clans the name for which was "Ayllu," a word in use in the Aymará language as well as in the Quichua.³⁶ Originally, descent was in the female line.³⁷ When we inquired for the Ayllus of Tiahuanaco, the reply came that there were only two, Arasaya and Masaya. These two groups are geographically divided at the village. Masaya occupies the buildings south, Arasaya those north, of the central square, the dividing line going, ideally, through the center of the "Plaza" from east to west. This geographical division is (at Tiahuanaco) even indicated at church. We saw, when at mass, the principals of the two clusters, each with his staff of office, enter in procession: Masaya walking on the right or south, Arasaya on the left or north, and take their places in the same order on each side of the altar. After the ceremony they jointly escorted the priest to his home. But we were told also, that there were other Ayllus (and as many as ten) within the parish. This caused me to inquire for the church-books. The priest of Tiahuanaco, Reverend Father José Maria Escobari (now deceased) most kindly placed them at my disposal and I soon found out, what I already had suspected, that the two main clusters just named were not kins or clans, but *groups* of such, perhaps phratries. This is a very ancient arrangement and existed, among other places, at aboriginal Cuzco, where the river divided the inhabitants into two clusters, Hurin-suyu and Hanan-suyu, whereas there is every probability that the tribe was composed of at least thirteen clans, or Ayllus, localized; a certain number of them belonging, through their location, to one and the remainder to the other principal subdivision.

Although there are fragments of church-registers as far back as 1674, the contents of the books become of value only in 1694. Under date of January eighth of

that year, I found the entry: that the natives whose marriages (it was a marriage register) are consigned in the book, "will be found placed in their two groups (parcialidades) Hananzaia and Hurinzaia,"³⁸ hence the present division is an ancient one under a change of name. This is further proven by the appearance, in the same book, of Masaya and Arasaya, in 1710, in place of the former terms.³⁹ Furthermore, in the list of the Ayllu of Tiahuanaco, which I extracted from 1694 to 1728, after which year the clan is no longer mentioned, there is one Ayllu expressly assigned to Arazaia and three to Masaya. The total number of Ayllus mentioned as having belonged to Tiahuanaco is, up to 1728,⁴⁰ thirteen. Among these, several bear the names of well-known localities in Bolivia.

It results from this book, that intermarriage in the clan or Ayllu was already customary about two centuries after the conquest, that exogamous marriage was also frequent, and that marriages between members of distant villages took place. Not only that, but parties of distinct linguistical stocks intermarried also. Thus we find Quichuas wedded to Aymarás, Aymarás to Uros. Not less than forty-seven different villages, at least fifteen of which are Peruvian, are represented by parties who contracted matrimony at Tiahuanaco, either with members of some clan of that village or of another one.

The names of the clans are found repeated in different villages. The kin called Inca appears at Copacavana, at La Paz (Bolivia) at Juli, Caquiauri and Azángaro, in Peru, Collana, simultaneously at La Paz in Bolivia, at Pucará and Puno, even at Paucar-colla, in Peru. The clans were then already scattering, as with Spanish rule there was greater liberty and security for the Indian to move hither and thither. In connection with this belongs a statement made to us at Tiahuanaco that, while the members of an Ayllu do not longer reside together, they still claim affiliation and, when travelling, they try as much as possible to quarter themselves

with members of their own clan. We subsequently observed this custom elsewhere in Bolivia.

The registers of baptisms were not obtainable. What we could ascertain in regard to the government of the clans is meagre and was not always corroborated at other places. I give here what relates strictly to Tiahuanaco. Each Allyu is autonomous. It elects annually its officers. We were assured, as on the Island of Titicaca, that the Alcalde was the chief officer and the Ilacata only second in rank. This seems to be the reverse in other sections. The Alcalde was described to us as an executive functionary, as the executor of justice and leader in case of warfare. The Ilacata, on the other hand, was mentioned as an administrative officer only. What the relations between the two clusters of Masaya and Arasaya and the Ayllus were, we could not find out at Tiahuanaco, as they were constantly confounded in the statements of our informants. We never succeeded in having the latter discriminate between the two kinds of groups, only it seemed to us that the former played a directive part in everything relating to church matters and, also, to public dances.

^ We witnessed the great dance on the feast of September 13th and 14th to which Mr. Squier has given a name of his own.⁴¹ We saw then, for the first time, the head-dresses of ostrich-feathers (Suri) worn by the group of dancers called Sicuri,⁴² we saw again the tiger-skins, called Kena-Kena or Kenacho⁴³ and other costumes, partly ancient and partly modern, of the signification of which we could not obtain any explanation. But we saw that, while these groups were represented on both sides of the square, north and south, there still was a division carefully kept up, Masaya remaining on the south, and Arasaya on the north, neither side trespassing on the others grounds. This seemed to indicate that, while the dancing clusters are indiscriminately composed of members of all the clans more or less, they observed a division into two main groups.

The dance was like all those we have seen since, namely, a disorderly crowd of more or less drunken people, the music consisted of panflutes of various sizes (frequently mentioned by older authors) of the well-known flat drums and of fifes, and while the dancers and many of the public sang in Aymará, the din was so fearful as to make it impossible to gather either sense or signification. Neither could we secure any information from outsiders. It was all one drunken orgie that lasted day and night for about five times twenty-four hours. On the fourth day the whole crowd resorted to the top of Akkapana, where they played after the fashion of children, buying fruit of each other, building toy-houses, and, above all, drinking hard. On the fifth day the Indians began to disperse and go back to their homes, but the village authorities kept up the noise by dancing in the plaza like Indians. The uproar created by such an Indian festival is such that nothing can be gathered concerning the signification of the performance; drunkenness is so general that hardly a sensible reply may be elicited on any topic. The curate retired to the innermost apartment of his dwelling in order to escape the ovations of his parish-children. He declared himself utterly disgusted at such indigenous performances, but powerless to repress them.

The particular feast was that of the "Exaltation of the Holy Cross." The Indians observe it, in a similar manner, over most of Bolivia. It is in honor of the day that they dance and sing and carouse. But the form of enjoyment antedates Spanish occupation. In order to correct gradually the customs of the aborigines and lead them into better channels, the church permitted modified ancient dances on its feast-days.⁴⁴ In this manner, it hoped to draw the Indians away from their primitive idolatrous practices. In course of time, the Indian share of celebration got the upper hand again. With the degeneracy of the clergy (an inevitable consequence of isolation and intermixture with Indian blood) these festivities retroceded to almost what they were

before Spanish colonization. It will be a very difficult task to modify or eradicate them. The great incentive is strong drink, to which they have been accustomed for untold centuries and which seems to be their only delight. Before the conquest, a fermented beverage, a highly intoxicating chicha, was consumed in excess on festive occasions,⁴⁵ and the fundamental idea in drinking is that of ceremonial offering.

Hence these dances present two sides. The church festival is a pretext. The dance itself is an ancient rite, and would be of great ethnological and even historical value, could the song be interpreted, and the decorative part of the performance, the costumes, explained. To this the character of the Aymará Indian is a serious obstacle. He will not speak.⁴⁶ What we could gather at Tiahuanaco is this. There exist, among the Indians, two kinds of organization, both of which have become modified through contact with civilization. One is the original social arrangement, represented by the *Allyu* or gens. The other is ancient also, not controlled by the clan, and represented by the two clusters of *Masaya* and *Arasaya*. They have yielded in a measure to rules and precepts of the church, but display their primitive character in the dances. Their true signification is still occult, and it may be that most of the performers no longer are aware of it.

We were informed at Tiahuanaco, that each group of dancers had its instructor "*Irpa*."⁴⁷ It was also stated that these *Irpa* were chosen for life. That rehearsals took place before the festival, we distinctly noticed, but could not penetrate to the places where the rehearsals were going on. It seemed to us also, from certain stealthy goings and comings among the Indians, that ceremonies of a religious nature accompanied these rehearsals, as among the Indians of the north.

The rites of Christian religion are looked upon by the Indians as an imported magic, beneficial for certain ends and aims, indifferent and even detrimental to others. Their ancient beliefs and practices are resorted

to exclusively in other cases, therefore there are a number of sorcerers at Tiahuanaco, the titles of which we learned, subsequently. Every disease is attributed to supernatural causes. Thus a particular sickness will be explained by assuming that some bone of the dead "chullpa" (or Indian who died during the time of paganism) penetrated the body. They believe in various sorts of illwinds. There is a "Pachaayre," or wind of God,⁴⁸ which causes disease. The "Santoayre," or bad wind, of the Saints has its noxious effects. There are few pictures of Saints in their houses. The Cutu-Cutu, or morning fog, is dreaded as due to evil spirits, the Anchacho plays a conspicuous part. As they hold certain rocks or large stones to be dangerous and attribute to them the power of swallowing children and even grown people, they are careful to sacrifice coca and alcohol (formerly it was chicha) to those fetiches. Such anthropophagous stones are already mentioned in the earliest traditions from Cuzo.⁴⁹ Father Escobari caused a black stone, of which the Indians were particularly afraid, to be removed. It cost him a deal of labor to induce the Indians to do it, and afterwards they sacrificed coca and liquor saying: "that it was done to appease Anchacho." Other demons are called Lari-Lari⁵⁰ and "Hinchu-Kañu."⁵¹ They believe that the rainbow ("Curmi") is a spiritual being and an evil one, and do not allow their children to gaze at it, lest it produce an "ill wind." Innumerable, almost, are the animals of ill omen. The howling of dogs at night is ominous. The unfortunate owl, large as well as small, keeps up its bad reputation; so does the skunk. A little bird called Tiolas is charged, when flying past anybody, with taking away "the fat of the heart" and thus to cause that organ to shrink. Rain-making is a common practice. For that purpose the Indians of the valley (including those of Huaqui on the lake) go to the summit of a hill south of Tiahuanaco and offer coca, liquor and other objects which were not mentioned to us. Already, here we noticed the important part played by

coca in their religious rites. When a hailstorm approaches, the Indians run out and blow into large cow-horns, shouting at the same time: "pass on, pass on." These are customs from pre-Spanish times which the "extirpation of idolatry" (systematically instituted between 1607 and 1615) could not eradicate.⁵² But there are practices with which the Christian element is mixed. Thus, they believe that children who die without baptism return into the body of the mother, causing it to swell. Against this supposed evil they employ the hostia and also use it as a remedy in other cases. We were told that the Indians invariably bury, with the body, food, drink in a clay vessel, and a broom to enable the soul to sweep its way to heaven, as it takes several days to get there. While the idea of assisting the soul with aliments to stand the journey, and the idea of that journey itself, are manifestly ancient,⁵³ the conception of heaven is a Christian importation. A most interesting example of mixture of Christian and pagan notions, are their practices when lightning strikes a house. "Santiago" (Saint James) has become to them a sort of patron or god of lightning. The origin of this belief may be looked for in the war-cry of the Spaniards, "Santiago," and the first impression caused by the use of firearms. Musketry and cannon appeared to the Indians as lightning and thunder, hence they assigned to the saint, to whom the Spaniards used to appeal loudly in battle, the office of master of electric discharges.⁵⁴ When, therefore, lightning strikes a house they believe that Santiago has stumbled or has made some mistake. The dwelling is forthwith abandoned by its inmates, doors and windows (if any) are draped in mourning. On the day following, twelve boys, personifying the twelve apostles, are given a meal in the house. After the meal, these boys are to go home without looking back and if any one of them should happen to do it, he will soon be struck by lightning himself. After they are gone, the owner of the house comes accompanied by his wife and a sorcerer. Inside of the dwelling that sorcerer joins

the hands of the pair, covers their heads with a black blanket (poncho) and offers a prayer to Pachacamac in behalf of the home. To this prayer the sorcerer himself answers in a changed tone of voice, explaining the lightning-stroke as a mistake, and promising that it shall never occur again. Tiahuanaco is a place where thunderbolts are rather frequent. Hardly a rainy season passes without some fatal accident caused by lightning, either at the village or in its vicinity.

The relations of the people (Indians) of Tiahuanaco to their neighbors in the north are by no means friendly. We were told that an ancient feud existed between the Indians of Omasuyos (the province to which Aygachi and other villages north of Tiahuanaco belong) and Pacajes within the boundaries of which Tiahuanaco is situated. Hostilities between neighboring clusters are so frequent in Bolivia, that I would not attempt to assign to them any historical importance.

We were also informed that when a new house is built, the members of the Ayllu to which the builder belongs assist him gratuitously, only he has to provide them with food and especially with an abundance of chicha or liquor.⁵⁵

Tiahuanaco was the first place where we came in close contact with the Aymará Indians. We were not prepared, and could not be, for successful intercourse with these people. Our inquiries were not even understood by the better classes, nor even by the ecclesiastic authority, however much the priest endeavored to assist us in the most friendly manner. Our questionings about clanship, consanguinity and affinity, were entirely new, as nobody had heretofore attempted to secure information on points that even in scientific circles are not always sufficiently appreciated. With the Indians directly we could not converse. Hence the information given here is merely a picture of our earliest efforts in Bolivia. At Tiahuanaco we had to grope our way in the dark to find the outline of methods for approaching the Indian mind. It was our hope to be able to

return to Tiahuanaco and go over the ground again. This hope has been frustrated.

After a sojourn of nineteen days we returned to the city of La Paz with plans of the ruins, and some collections. Our experience in campaign work in Bolivia had begun, we knew at least some of its numerous difficulties.

NOTES.

¹ *Die Ruinenstaette von Tiahuanaco im Hochlande des alten Peru.* A. Stuebel and Max Uhle, (Breslau, 1892, folio) a splendidly illustrated and equipped work.

² *Peru, Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas.* (1877. Chapters XV and XVI.)

³ The altitude is about 15,000 feet.

⁴ The antiquity of these wooden goblets or cups is often doubtful; it is certain, however, that some were used in pre-columbian times. Generally, the KEROS were of clay, more or less decorated, in color, in relief, or both.

⁵ "Quimsa" is three, in Aymará as well as in Quichua. "Chata" I cannot determine in Aymará, and the few Quichua words that resemble it afford slender basis for etymology.

⁶ The distance is only a few miles.

⁷ My friend, the distinguished French geologist and paleontologist, A. Dereims, in his preliminary report on the geological exploration of Bolivia: *Informe (in Boletín de la Oficina nacional de Inmigración, Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica, Vol. III, La Paz 1903, page 327)* says that I hinted at the possibility of their having been brought from the shores of Titicaca at Tiquina. This is a misunderstanding, I stated the contrary.

⁸ There was a "Puma-Puncu" at Cuzco, and it might be that the name was transferred to Tiahuanaco.

⁹ *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Sevilla 1895, Vol. IV, page 65). "El nombre que tuvo este pueblo antes que fuese señoreado de los Incas, era Taypicala, tomado de la lengua Aymará, que es la materna de sus naturales, y quiere decir "la piedra de enmedio"; porque tenían por opinion los indios del Collao, que este pueblo estaba enmedio del Mundo, y que del salieron despues del Diluvio los que lo tornaron á poblar." A contemporary of Cobo, the Jesuit Anello Oliva, in his *Historia del Peru y Varones insígenes en Santidad de la Compañía de Jesus*, (1651, but only published at Lima a few years ago) has another name for it,—Chucara. See later on.

¹⁰ Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara: *Historia de las Guerras civiles del Peru y de otros sucesos de las Indias* (finished before 1603 but published

at Madrid in 1904-5-6) saw the ruins of Tiahuanaco about the same time as Cieza or perhaps a few years previous; he states: (Vol. III, Cap. LXI, p. 528) "En el pueblo de Tiaguanaco, que es en la provincia de Atun Collao, estaua hecho vn estanco quadrado, en donde auia a la continua mucha agua, que despues quando yo lo vide estaua ya seco, y allí estaua vna estatua de piedra muy lisa, de altor de vn estado, el qual tenia vna ropa larga hasta los pies, y vn bulto como libro, que tenia en la mano izquierda, y en la derecha vn bordon; tenia mas vnas suelas por çapatos, abrochadas con dos correas por encima del empeyne, y vn medio capirote como de frayle, todo loqual estaua hecho de bulto, de vna piedra muy lisa, que parecia al natural, y deste dizen que hizo en estas prouincias muchas cosas muy buenas." Pedro de Cieza, *Primera Parte de la Crónica del Peru* (in Vedia's: *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Vol. II, Cap. CV, p. 446) gives a description of Tiahuanaco in which the mound of Akkapana seems to be referred to. He writes as follows on the subject:—"Tiaguanaco no es pueblo muy grande, pero es notado por los grandes edificios que tiene; que cierto son cosa notable y para ver. Cerca de los aposentos principales está un collado hecho á mano, armado sobre grandes cimientos de piedra." Cieza reports on the condition of the ruins about fifteen years after the arrival of the Spaniards at Cuzco (he saw them about 1549). After him, we have a description by Father Cobo S. J. who visited them more than once, the first time in 1610. (Vol. IV, p. 71). Of Akka-pana (he is the first, as far as I can find, who gives the name, at least in print) he says: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Vol. IV, p. 67)—"A la parte oriental deste edificio, como quatrocientos pasos, se ven unas ruinas de otro no menos grande y suntuoso; no se puede averiguar si era distinto del primero ó ambos eran uno, y su fábrica se continúa por alguna parte, de que ya no queda rastro; á lo menos los indios lo llaman con distinto nombre, que es Acapana."

"Este es un terraplano de cuatro ó cinco estados en alto, que parece collado, fundado sobre grandes cimientos de piedra su forma es cuadrada y tiene á trechos como traveses ó cubos de fortaleza; cincuenta pies al Oriente dél ha quedado en pie una portada grande de solas tres piezas bien labradas, á cada lado la suya, y otra encima de ambas. No ha quedado desta fábrica más obra sobre la tierra que el terraplano y algunas piedras labradas que salen de los cimientos, por donde se muestra su forma y planta. Cerca deste terraplano está otro tambien cuadrado; dividelos una calle de cincuenta pies de ancho, y así parece ser ambos una misma obra. Las paredes deste último edificio eran admirables, dado que ya está por tierra. De un pedazo de muralla que todavía se conserva en pie por la buena diligencia y cuidado de un cura que hubo en Tiaguanaco, llamado Pedro de Castillo, que murió de mucha edad el año de mil y seiscientos y viente (hombre curioso y que tenia bien considerada la grandeza y antigüedad de los edificios, por los muchos años que fué cura del dicho pueblo) se puede sacar su labor y traza. Es pues esta muralla de piedras cuadradas sin mezela y tan ajustadas unas con

otras, como ajustan dos maderos acepillados. Las piedras son de mediana grandeza y puestas á trechos otras muy grandes á modo de rafas; de suerte, que como en nuestros edificios de tapias ó adobes se suelen entremeter rafas de ladrillos de alto á bajo, así esta pared y muralla tiene á trechos, en lugar de rafas, unas piedras á manera de columnas cuadradas de tan excesiva grandeza, que sube cada una del cimiento hasta lo alto y remate de la pared, que es de tres ó cuatro estados, y no se sabe lo que dellas entra en la tierra en que están hincadas. Por los rastros que desta muralla se descubren, se echa de ver que era una gran cerca que, saliendo deste edificio último, corría hacia el Oriente y ocupaba un grande espacio. Aquí se hallan rastros de otra acequia de piedra como la primera, y esta parece venir de la Sierra que está enfrente y distante una legua." Several points in this description deserve particular attention. In the first place Cobo calls the mound a "terraplen" or platform. Next he speaks of another one divided from the first by a "street of fifty feet in width." This is the court north of the mound:—The first or largest Court measures, longitudinally, 424 and 422 feet, transversely (from north to south) 398 by 390. The pillars vary in height between eight and twelve feet and are grooved lengthwise, so that the ends of stones or slabs might have been fitted in. Squier has justly remarked: "they appear to have had a wall of rough stones built up between them, supporting a terre-plein of earth, about eight feet above the general level of the plain." The height indicated by Cobo for the wall which was still standing is greater than that of the pillars as they are now, for three to four "estados" or fathoms would be equal to from eighteen to twenty-four feet. Where Cobo actually measured, he indicates dimensions in Spanish feet of the period. What he says is plain: from pillar to pillar there was a wall well cut of stones fitted without cement, like those lining the lower portions of Akkapana. He states: "From the vestiges that are visible it can be seen it was a great circumvallation that, from this last Edifice, extended to the east and covered a great space." By "last Edifice" Cobo means the rectangle inside of the large court. At his time it was already "tumbled to the ground" and only one fragment remaining, from which the construction of the whole could be deduced. Hence, we may safely conclude it to have been a court, the approximate size of which is 200 by 150 feet. In it stood a building of which hardly a trace is left. The large carved gateway, about the figures on which so much has been written, was one of the entrances to the outer square and is in its original position. The gateway east of Akkapana, mentioned by Cobo, may have been the one now used as entrance to the cemetery and figured on pages 284-5 of Squier's *Peru*. It is certainly not the one figured by Squier, *Peru* (p. 283). The mention, by Cobo, of three parts, whereas all the gateways so far known are monolithic, makes it difficult to decide.

Between the description of Cieza and that of Cobo, in point of date, we have the notice which the priest Diego de Alcobaza gave, in writing, to Garcilasso de la Vega and the latter incorporated in the *Comentarios*

reales (Vol. I, Lib. III, Cap. I, folio 57). "En Tiahuanacu prouincia del Collao entre otras ay vna antigualla digna de inmortal memoria, está pegada á la laguna llamada por los Españoles Chucuytu, cuyo nóbre proprio es Chuquiuitu, alli están vnos edificios grandissimos, entre las quales está vn patio quadrado de quinze braças á vna parte, y á otra con su cerca de mas de dos estados de alto, á vn lado del patio está vna sala de quarēta y cinco pies de largo, y veinte y cinco de ancho, cubierta á semejaça de las pieças cubiertas de paja, q̄ vuestra merced vió en la casa del Sol en esta ciudad del Cozco; el patio que tengo dicho con sus paredes y suelo, y la sala y su techumbre y cubierta, y las portadas, y vnbrales de dos puertas que la sala tiene, y otra puerta que tiene el patio, todo esto es de una sola pieça hecha, y labrada en vn peñasco, y las paredes del patio, y las de la sala son de tres quartas de vara de ancho, y el techo de la sala, por de fuera, paresce de paja, aunque es de piedra, porque como los Yndios cubren sus casas con paja, porque semejasse esta á las otras peynarō la piedra, y la arrayaron para que paresciesse cubierta de paja. La laguna bate en vn lienço de los del patio, los naturales dizen que aquella casa, y los demas edificios los tenian dedicados al hazedor del vniuerso. Tambien ay por alli cerca otra gran suma de piedras labradas en figuras de hombres, y mugeres, tan al natural que parece que están viuos, beuiēdo con los vasos en las manos, otros sentados, otros en pie parados, otros que van pasando vn arroyo, que por entre aquellos edificios passa: otros estatuas están con sus criaturas en las faldas y regaço, otros las lleuan á cuestas, y otros de mil maneras. Dizen los Yndios presentes, que por grandes peccados que hizieron los de aquel tiempo, y porque apedrearō vn hombre que passó por aquella prouincia, fueron conuertidos en aquellas estatuas. Hasta aqui son palabras de Diego de Alcobaça, el qual en muchas prouincias de aquel reyno ha sido vicario, y predicador de los Yndios, que sus perlados lo han mudado de vnas partes á otras porque como mestizo natural del Cozco sabe mejor el language de los Yndios, que otros no naturales de aquella tierra, y haze mas fruto."

Too little attention has been paid to this description. Some have even attempted to discredit it by insinuating that Alcobaza wrote from hearsay, and on the assumption that he was a Jesuit established at Juli, whence he could easily obtain information about Tiahuanaco. Alcobaza was a secular priest, and there is no reason why he should not have seen Tiahuanaco. His description contains some interesting statements. It is not clear where the buildings and courts are to be looked for which he mentions; but still less is it clear in the case of the description by Cieza. The main objection against Alcobaza seems to be that he speaks of the Lake as bathing one side of the buildings or Courts. It would lead to suppose that they stood in the vicinity of Puma-puncu. The seated figures of which Alcobaza speaks are not inventions of his, since the two statues now in front of the church of Tiahuanaco represent squatting Indians. A tall statue with a vase in hand stands to-day in the great court. In regard to the statement of the Lake approaching Tiahuanac

so near that its waters bathed the ruins, while Cieza mentions the village of Huaqui as in existence at his time; I would observe, that the point on the shore, nearest to Tiahuanaco, is not Huaqui, but the outlet of the Tiahuanaco stream north of it. A former encroachment of Lake Titicaca would, therefore, have extended up the present course of the river, leaving Huaqui on the declivity to the right. The statues said by Alcobaza to represent women carrying babies on their backs may have disappeared, or his fancy misled him, just as, at this day, craving for symbolism leads investigators to see mythology everywhere.

To translate "estados" by "stories" in speaking of the height of a wall is rather strange. "Estado" is a *fathom* or, more or less, six feet. Hence, when Alcobaza estimates the height of the wall at "two estados" or *twelve feet*, it indicates that he was a sober observer.

Cobo states that Akka-pana rests on "great foundations of stone." He, as well as Cieza, mistook the wall along the base of the mound for foundations.

¹¹ Cobo speaks of courts near Puma-puncu and also of one running to the east from Akka-pana, of which few vestiges remain. But he is silent about the sculptured gate. Cieza, in *Primera Parte*, (p. 446) mentions monolithic gateways in general: "en otro lugar mas hacia el poniente deste edificio están otras mayores antiguallas, porque hay muchas portadas grandes con sus quicios, umbrales y portaletes, todo de una sola piedra." He also treats of statues: "Mas adelante de este cerro están dos idolos de piedra del talle y figura humana, muy primeramente hechos y formadas las faiciones; tanto, que parece que se hicieron por mano de grandes artifices ó maestros; son tan grandes, que parecen pequeños gigantes, y vese que tienen forma de vestimentas largas, diferenciadas de las que vemos á los naturales destas provincias; en las cabezas parece tener su ornamento. Cerca destas estatuas de piedra está otro edificio, del cual la antigüedad suya y falta de letras es causa para que no se sepa que gentes hicieron tan grandes cimientos y fuerzas, y que tanto tiempo por ello ha pasado, porque de presente no se vé mas que una muralla muy bien obrada y que debe de haber mucho tiempo y edades que se hizo; algunas de las piedras están muy gastadas y consumidas, y en esta parte hay piedras tan grandes y crecidas, que causa admiracion pensar como, siendo de tanta grandeza, bastaron fuerzas humanas á las traer donde las vemos; y muchas destas piedras que digo, están labradas de diferentes maneras, y algunas dellas tienen forma de cuerpos de hombres, que debieron ser sus ídolos; junto á la muralla hay muchos huecos y concavidades debajo de tierra." Cieza mentions, in all, three human figures of large size. Up to this date six *very* tall statues are known, not counting the colossal head at the Museum of La Paz. One is erect, two are squatting, and three are lying on the ground, south of Akka-pana. I do not mention smaller ones at La Paz and at the "Museum" in Tiahuanaco.

¹² *Peru*, (page 287), Stuebel and Uhle, *Die Ruinenstaette von Tiahuanaco*. (Plate 39, fig. 29.)

¹³ Puma-puncu is possibly the site which Cieza *Primera Parte* (p. 446) describes as follows: "en otro lugar más hacia el poniente deste edificio están otras mayores antiguallas, porque hay muchas portadas grandes con sus quicios, umbrales y portales, todo de una sola piedra. Lo que yo mas noté cuando anduve mirando y escribiendo estas cosas fué, que destas portadas tan grandes salían otras mayores piedras, sobreque estaban formadas, de las quales tenían algunas treinta pies en ancho, y de largo quince y mas, y de frente seis, y esto y la portada y sus quicios y umbrales era una sola piedra, . ." In case this applies to Puma-puncu, the statue found there and figured in Stuebel and Uhle (*Ruin-estaette & ca* Plate 31, fig. 2) is the one referred to by Cieza. We have from the pen of Cobo, a more precise description. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, (page 66, Vol. IV). "Lo principal de la fábrica se llama Puma-puncu, que es tanto como puerta de leon; es un terraplano ó mogote hecho á mano, de altura de dos estados, fundado sobre grandes y bien labradas piedras, que tienen forma de las losas, que nosotros ponemos sobre las sepulturas. Está el terraplano puesto en cuadro, con los cuatro leinzos iguales, que cada uno tiene cien pasos de esquina á esquina; rematase en dos andenes de grandes losas, muy parejas u llanas; entre el primero y segundo anden hay un espacio como una grande grada de seis pies de ancho, y eso tiene menos el segundo cuerpo que el primero. La haz ó frente deste edificio es el lienzo que mira al Oriente y á otras grandes ruinas que luego diré. Deste lienzo delantero sale la obra con la misma altura y paredes de piedra, veinticuatro pies de ancho y sesenta de largo, formando á los lados dos ángulos; y este pedazo que sobresale del cuadro parece haber sido alguna gran pieza ó sala puesta en medio de la frente del edificio. Algo mas adentro de aquella parte que está sobresaliente, se vé entero el suelo enlosado de una muy capáz y suntuosa pieza, que debió ser el templó o la parte principal dél. Tiene de largo este enlosado ciento y cincuenta y cuatro pies, y de ancho cuarenta y seis; las losas son todas de extraña grandeza; yo las medí, y tiens la mayor treinta y dos pies de largo, diez y seis de ancho (p. 67) y de grueso ó canto seis; las otras son algo menores, unas de á treinta pies y otras de á menos, pero todas de rara grandeza; están tan lisas y llanas como una tabla bien acepillada, y con muchas labores y molduras por los lados. No hay al presente paredes levantadas sobre este enlosado; pero de las muchas piedras bien labradas que hay caídas al redondel, en que se ven pedazos de puertas y ventanas, se colige haber estado cercado de paredes muy curiosas. Solamente está en pie sobre la losa mayor una parte que mira al Oriente cavada en una gran piedra muy labrada, la cual piedra tiene de alto nueve pies y otros tantos de ancho, y el hueco de la puerta es de siete pies de largo, y el ancho en proporcion. Cerca desta puerta está en pie una ventana que mira al Sur, toda de una sola piedra muy labrada."

"Por la frente deste edificio se descubren los cimientos de una cerca de piedra labrada, que, naciendo de las esquinas deste lienzo delantero, ocupa otro tanto espacio cuadrado como tiene el terraplano y cimiento de toda la fábrica. Dentro desta cerca, como treinta pies de la frontera

del edificio, hácia la esquina del Sur, se ven los cimientos de dos piezas pequeñas cuadradas que se levantan del suelo tres pies, de piedras sillares muy pulidas, las cuales tienen talle de ser estanques ó baños ó cimientos de algunas torres ó sepulturas. Por medio del edificio terraplenado, á nivel del suelo de fuera dél, atraviesa un acueducto de caños y tajeas de piedra de maravillosa labor: es una acequia de poco mas dos palmos de ancho, y otro tanto de alto, de piedras cuadradas, bien labradas y ajustadas, que no les hace falta la mezcla; la piedra de encima tiene un encaje sobre las paredes de la dicha acequia, que sobresale de sus bordos un dedo, y eso entra en el hueco della."

Both Cieza and Cobo agree in assigning to the Mound of Akka-pana as well as to Puma-puncu, an artificial origin. It is plain they are *natural*.

¹⁴ Compare my: *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the southeastern United States*, (Part II, pp. 460 and 465).

¹⁵ This is established by Cobo, *Historia* (Vol. IV, p. 71). "El segundo argumento que yo hallo de su antigüedad aún me hace mas fuerza, y es, la multitud de piedras labradas que hay debajo de la primera; porque es así, que ultra de las que se ven sobre la superficie, así de las que se han caído de los edificios como otras muy grandes que están apartadas dellos, pone admiracion ver las que se sacan de debajo de la tierra y el modo como se hallan; porque estando como está el suelo de todo aquel campo, llano, parejo y cubierto de yerba, sin señal alguna de barrancas ni derrumbaderos, en cualquiera parte que caven la tierra por mas de media legua en torno de las ruinas sobredichas, á uno y dos estados de hondo se halla el suelo lleno destas piedras labradas, y entre ellas muy grandes y hermosas losas, que parece estar enterrada aqui alguna gran ciudad."

¹⁶ Cobo, *Historia* (IV, p. 67). "Por medio del edificio terraplenado, á nivel del suelo de fuera del, atraviesa un acueducto de caños y tajeas de piedra de maravillosa labor: es una acequia de poco más de dos palmos de ancho y otro tanto de alto, de piedras cuadradas bien labradas y ajustadas, que no les hace falta la mezcla; la piedra de encima tiene un encaje sobre las paredes de la dicha acequia, que sobresale de sus bordos un dedo, y eso entra en el hueco della." (p. 69.) "Aqui se hallan rastros de otra acequia de piedra como la primera, y ésta parece venir de la Sierra que está enfrente y distante una lagua." The former was connected with Puma-puncu, the other with the great court north of Akka-pana.

¹⁷ Cobo, *Historia* (IV, p. 71 and 72) mentions carved or cut stones found in the courts of houses of the village. It is singular that both he and Cieza allude to the ruins of edifices built by the Inca. They were still standing in 1610. Cobo: (p. 72). "La causa principal de tener los indios la veneracion que tenían á este adoratorio, dabió ser su grande antigüedad. Adorábanlo los naturales desde tiempo inmemorial antes que fuesen conquistados de los Reyes del Cuzco, y lo mismo hicieron los dichos Reyes despues que fuéron Señores desta provincia, que tuvieron por templo célebre el sobredicho edificio de Puma-puncu, y lo ilustraron y enriquecieron, acrecentando su ornato y el número de ministros y sacrificios; y edificaron junto á él palacios Reales en que dicen nació

Manco-capac, hijo de Guayna-capac, cuyas ruinas se ven hoy; y era edificio muy grande y de muchas piezas y apartamentos." These "Inca" buildings are also alluded to by Cieza. *Primera Parte* (p. 447). "Apartados destos edificios están los aposentos de los ingas y la casa donde nació Mango inga, hijo de Gaynacapa, y están junto á ellos dos sepulturas de los señores naturales deste pueblo, tan altas como torres anchas y esquinadas, las puertas al nacimiento del sol."

There are no traces left of these structures, on the surface at least. The architecture of the Inca is well known and resembles that of Tiahuanaco in many respects so much that there is a statement that the Inca imitated Tiahuanaco in their buildings at Cuzco. Cieza (p. 446). "porque yo hé oído afirmar á indios que los ingas hicieron los edificios grandes del Cuzco por la forma que vieron tener la muralla ó pared que se vé en este pueblo; y aun dicen más, que los primeros ingas platicaron de hacer su corte y asiento della en este Tiaguanaco."

¹⁸ A. Dereims, *Informe* (p. 324). Cobo, *Historia* (IV, p. 69) mentions already the different kinds of stones used: "Son todas estas piedras de dos ó tres especies, unas amoladoras, rojas y blandas de labrar, y otras pardas ó cenicientas y muy duras." The description is very good for the period. He did not, however, notice that the red sand-rock is cropping out on the site of the ruins, still less that the andesite forms the height of Quimsa-chata.

¹⁹ The I-shaped clamps are mentioned by Squier, from whose practiced eye they certainly could not escape. *Peru*, (p. 281). "Nearly all the blocks of stone scattered over the plain show the cuts made to receive what is called the I-clamp, and the round holes to receive the metal pins that were to retain the blocks in their places, vertically." It is not without interest to note how the grooves destined to receive the clamps were begun.

²⁰ Squier, *Ut supra*.

²¹ "Huanca," in Aymará, is a large stone. Bertonio, *Vocabulario* (parte II, 146). "Huancacatatha" signifies to throw down blocks of stone one after another in succession. "Kollu," as well known, is a height.

²² Fray Antonio de la Calancha, *Coronica moralizada* (Vol. I, Lib. IV, Cap. XIII, p. 865). "El lugar y asiento que oy se llama Pucarani donde está la Imágen de la soberana Reyna de los Angeles se llamó en su Antigüedad, i en los tiēpos de sus Reyes Ingas Quescamareca, que quiere decir; asiento i lugar de pedernales, porque son muchos les que alli se crían, . . . No se apovecharon los Indios del fuego de los pedernales, porque no supieron de eslabon ni yesca; sacavan con dos palillos lunbre de ciertos árboles, cosa q̃ oy vsan, pero aprovechávanse de los pedernales para sus flechas, poniálos en los remates, puntas i cabos, i eran tan agudos como navajas, i tan fuertes como azero, azian grandes daños en sus contrarios, i assi eran muy temidos, sāgravan con ellos adelgaçando tan afiladas lancetas, que con destreza azian aseguradas sangrias, no como vsan los Españoles, sino al modo de las vallestillas con que sangran los albeytares."

"Quatro leguas deste asiento de Quescamarca está la fortaleza en que se anparavan sus abitadores quando los Indios Pacaxes los afligian, eran mas el número, aunque no mayores en el ánimo. Llamavase esta fortaleza Pucarani; vivian familias de Indios por aquello; campos, sin pueblos ni reducciones, asta que los Castellanos fundaron de familias segregadas este pueblo, i por gusto de los Indios le llamaron Pucarani á devocion de su fortaleza, no queriendo se le quedase el nonbre de Quescamarca primitivo nonbre de su asiento." Bertonio, *Vocabulario*, (Part I, folio 567) has: "Piedra aguda para tresquilar el ganado:—Chillisaa, Quesca." On fol. 365, Chillisaa Cala is called: black flint (obsidian) used for shearing.—Marca is settlement.

The probable identity of the heights and ruins at Santa Ana with the ancient Pucarana will be shown in another place.

²³ Besides Calancha, as above quoted, there is an older and positive statement, that the Pacajes Indians (Aymará) used bows and arrows in war. In the invaluable publication of Spanish documents from the sixteenth century (mostly), due to the late Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada under the auspices of the Department of Fomento and entitled: *Relaciones geográficas de Indias* (Vol. II) there is an official report on pacajes from the year 1586 probably (p. 64). The writer states (p. 59): "Peleaban á pie con unas macanas á manera de hachas darmas, con algunas lanzas á manera de las nuestras, con arcos y flechas, con hondas y algunas rodela traídas de las Yungas."

²⁴ *Relacion de la Provincia de los Pacajes*, (*supra*, also p. 62). "Las casas de los Caciques y tambos usaron largas y cuadradas, y la madera traian de los Yungas." If they could carry timbers from the depths of the Yungas valleys that lie nearly ten thousand feet lower than the Puna, they certainly might take along the wood for bows, also.

²⁵ Compare, Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga, *La Araucana*. (Edition of 1733. Parte primera, Canto Primero, fol. I, page 2.)

"Las Armas de ellos mas exercitadas,"

Son Picas, Alabardas, i Lançones,
Con otras puntas largas enhastadas,
De la faicion, i forma de punçones;
Hachas, Martillos, Maças barreadas,
Dardos, Sargentas, flechas, i bastones.
Laços de fuertes nimbres, i Bejucos.
Tiros arrojadiços, i Trabucos."

Relacion hecha por Pedro de Valdivia al Emperador, dandole cuenta de lo sucedido en el descubrimiento, conquista y poblacion de Chile y en su viaje al Peru. October 15th 1550. (In *Documentos ineditos del Archivo de Indias*, Volume 4, pp. 51 and 53.) "Hiriéronme sesenta caballos y otros tantos cristianos, de flechazos é botes de lanza. . ."—"con mucha flecheria y lanzas á 20 é á 25 palmos." The fact of the use of bows and arrows by the ancient Chilians is therefore well established.

²⁶ *Segunda Parte de la Cronica del Peru*, (Madrid 1880, Cap. IV, p. 4). "Tambien cuentan lo que yo tengo escripto en la primera parte, que

en la isla de Titicaca, en los siglos pasados hobo unas gentes barbadas, blancas como nosotros, y que saliendo del valle de Coquimbo un capitan que habia por nombre Cari, allegó á donde agora es Chucuito, de donde, despues de haber hecho algunas nuevas poblaciones, pasó con su gente á la isla." But the story rests on very slender basis.

²⁷ Compare the Chavin slab with plates 10 and 31a, of the magnificent work of Stuebel and Uhle, *Die Ruinenstaette von Tiahuanaco*.

²⁸ On the supposition that the builders of Tiahuanaco were *not* Aymará Indians, we would have three types of pottery in the ruins: an oldest one, about which we know that it is not met anywhere else in Bolivia, except as intrusive specimens; Inca pottery, well known and very characteristic; the Aymará ware of the Puna, also abundantly known.

²⁹ I cannot find much difference between the garb on these statues and Aymará costume as described by older authors, although Cieza asserts the contrary. *Primera Parte de la Cronica*, (page 446), "y vese que tienen forma de vestimentas largas, diferenciadas de las que vemos á los naturales destas provincias; en las cabezas paresee tener su ornamento." The statues have *short* garments.

³⁰ We were careful to measure *all* the sides of each block, as well as of each carving on it. The work is not better than at Sillustani, the joining or fitting is even nicer at the latter place. This may be due to the fact that the buildings of Sillustani are of much more recent date, probably not older than the latter half of the fifteenth century. They are plainly Inca work.

³¹ It is needless to quote documentary evidence in support. The structures at Tiahuanaco were abandoned and in ruins when the Spaniards first saw them.

³² Inquiries into traditions and myths concerning the origin of the Peruvian Indians began at a very early date. Already Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, (Reprint by Amador de los Rios, Madrid, 1851, Vol. IV, Lib. XLVI, Cap. XVII, p. 223) gives a short account of traditions concerning the origin of the Inca tribe. The earliest mentions of Tiahuanaco so far published are (not counting Gutierrez de Santa Clara: See note 10) those from Cieza and Betanzos. I place Cieza first, not that he would be more reliable or his statements more valuable, but because he described the ruins from personal inspection. In the first part of his *Cronica del Peru*, (p. 446) he says: "Yo pregunté á los naturales, en presencia de Juan Vargas (que es el que sobre ellos tiene encomienda), si estos edificios se habian hecho en tiempo de los ingas, y rieronse desta pregunta, afirmando lo ya diho, que antes que ellos reinasen estaban hechos, mas que ellos no podian decir ni afirmar quien los hizo, mas de que oyéron á sus pasados que en una noche reinaneció hecho lo que allí se veía. Por esto, y por lo que tambien dicen haber visto en la isla de Titicaca hombres barbudos, y haber hecho el edificio de Vinaseñe semejantes gentes, digo que por ventura pudo ser que antes que los ingas mandasen debió de haber alguna gente de entendimiento en estos reinos, venida por alguna parte que no se sabe, los cuales harían estas

cosas, y siendo pocos, y los naturales tantos, serían muertos en las guerras." In his *Segunda Parte* (Cap. V, p. 7), he states: "los bultos grandes questán en el pueblo de Tiahuanacu, se tiene por fama que fué desde aquellos tiempos," thus assigning the most remote antiquity (for the region) to Tiahuanaco. Cieza admits that he required interpreters for communicating with the Indians. *Segunda Parte*, (Cap. I, p. 13) "y por hacerlo con más verdad vine al Cuzco, siendo en ella corregidor el capitan Juan de Sayavedra, donde hice juntar á Cayu Túpac, que es el que hay vivo de los descendientes de Huaina Capac . . . , y á otros de los orejones, . . . y con los mejores intérpretes y lenguas que se hallaron les pregunté, estos señores Incas qué gente era y de qué nacion," Still his statements fairly agree with those of Betanzos, because traditions were fresher, even in the recollection of uninitiated ones. It is not out of place. in regard to Cieza and his merits, to recall the remark of Pedro Pizarro, *Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Peru* (1671, in *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Espana*, Vol. 5, p. 356). "Esto dicen hacia Cieza en una corónica que ha querido hacer de oidas; y creo yo que muy poco de vista, porque en verdad yo no le conozco con ser uno de los primeros que en este reino entraron." Pedro Pizarro came to Peru with Francisco, and lived at Cuzco the remainder of his lifetime.

Juan de Betanzos was a resident of Cuzco and married to a woman from the Inca tribe. He was thoroughly acquainted with the Quichua language and one of the parties appointed by Vaca de Castro to examine and watch the Indians of whom information on the past of the Cuzco tribe was expected. "*Discurso sobre la descendencia y Gobierno de los Incas*," from the year 1542, published by Jiménez de la Espada, in which no mention is made of Tiahuanaco. According to Calancha, (and others) Betanzos was also commissioned by the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza to conduct an investigation of Indian Antiquities, in 1550. *Coronica moralizada* (Vol. I, 1638, Lib. I, Cap. XIV, p. 92). "Juan de Vetancos que por orden del Virey don Antonio de Mendoza por los años de mil y quinientos i cicuēta hizo antiquisimas informaciones." The results of his inquiries are embodied in the: *Suma y Narracion de los Incas que los Indios llamaron Capaccuna &ca.* (finished 1551, and published Madrid, 1880, in the same volume as Cieza's second part). The text is, unfortunately, not complete. At the risk of being too prolix I give here what relates to Tiahuanaco (Cap. I and II). "En los tiempos antiguos, dicen ser la tierra é provincia del Perú oscura, y que en ella no habia lumbré ni dia. Que habia en este tiempo cierta gente en ella, la cual gente tenia cierto Señor que la mandaba y á quien ella era subjeta. Del nombre desta gente y del Señor que la mandaba no se acuerdan. Y en estos tiempos que esta tierra era toda noche, dicen que salió de una laguna que es en esta tierra del Perú en la provincia que dicen de Collasuyu, un Señor que llamaron Con Tici Viracocha, el cual dicen haber sacado consigo cierto número de gentes, del cual número no se acuerdan. Y como este hubiese salido desta laguna, fuese de alli

á un sitio ques junto á esta laguna, questá donde hoy dia es un pueblo que llaman Tiaguanaco, en esta provincia ya dicha del Collao; y como allí fuese él y los suyos, luego allí en improviso hizo el sol y el dia, y que al sol mandó que anduviese por el curso que anda; y luego dicen que hizo las estrellas y la luna. El cual Con Tici Viracocha, dicen haber salido otra vez ántes de aquella, y que en esta vez primera que salió, hizo el cielo y la tierra, y que todo lo dejó oscuro; y que entonces hizo aquella gente que habia en el tiempo de la escuridad ya dicha; y que esta gente le hizo cierto deservicio á este Viracocha, y como della estuviese enojado, tornó esta vez postrera y salió como antes habia hecho, y á aquella gente primera y á su Señor, en castigo del enojo que le hicieron, hizolos que se tornasen piedra luego."

"Así como salió y en aquella misma hora, como ya hemos dicho, dicen que hizo el sol y dia, y luna y estrellas; y que esto hecho, que en aquel asiento de Tiaguanaco, hizo de piedra cierta gente y manera de dechado de la gente que despues habia de producir, haciéndolo en esta manera. Que hizo de piedra cierto número de gente y un principal que la gobernaba y señoreaba y muchas mujeres preñadas y otras paridas y que los niños tenian en cunas, segun su uso; todo lo cual así hecho de piedra, que lo apartaba á cierta parte; y que él luego hizo otra provincia allí en Tiaguanaco, formándolos de piedras en la manera ya dicha, y como los hobiese acabado de hacer, mandó á toda su gente que se partiesen todos los que él allí consigo tenia, dejando solos dos en su compañía, á los cuales dijo que mirasen aquellos bultos y los nombres que les habia dado á cada género de aquellos, señalandoles y diciendoles, estos se llamarán los tales y saldrán de tal fuente en tal provincia, y poblarán en ella, y allí serán aumentados; y estos saldrán de tal cueva, y se nombrarán los fulanos, y poblarán en tal parte; y así como yo aqui los tengo pintados y hechos de piedras, así han de salir de las fuentes, rios, y cuevas y cerros, &ca &ca &ca." (p. 5) "E como el Con Tici Virtecocha hobiese ya despachado esto, y ido en la manera ya dicha, dicen que los dos que allí quedaron con él en el pueblo de Tiaguanaco, que los envió asimismo á que llamasen y sacasen las gentes en la manera que ya habeis oido, . . . Y estos dos así despachados, dicen que él ansimismo se partió por el derecho hacia el Cuzco. . . ."

There is hardly any doubt that Betanzos obtained his information at first hand and partly, at least, when Indian lore was not yet influenced by contact. His version bears every mark of being authentic. The substance may be resumed as follows:

An earliest period of darkness, during which "heaven and earth" were created by a man. After this first creative act, the people he had made angered him, and he disappeared. At what place this first "creation" took place is not told. This tale of an obscure time is, to-day, believed by the Bolivian Amyará, who call it "Chamak-Tempu," Chamak meaning—"dark" or sinister. But it should not be lost sight of, that the earliest teaching, as well as those of all missionaries afterwards, tended to inpress upon the Indian, that his primitive condition, from a

religious standpoint, was one of *mental obscurity*. Also must we recollect, that the tale of the world's creation, according to Mosaic tradition, begins with a period of obscurity. And this tale was told the natives at a very early time. It might be therefore, that already when Betanzos began his inquiries, some vague Christian notions had penetrated the Indian mind. I merely call attention to such *possibilities*.

Then the same man reappeared, from some part of the Lake of Titicaca, under the name of Con Tici Viracocha. He took revenge upon the first people by turning them into stones and went to Tiahuanaco, and there made the sun, moon and stars. After having created these at Tiahuanaco, the "Viracocha" (as I shall call him for the sake of brevity) made statues there in the shape of men, which statues became either models from which mankind was afterwards copied or were transported to the various places where they afterwards took life. If we compare this tale with the descriptions of stone-figures at Tiahuanaco, by Diego de Alceba, we cannot help suspecting that it might be an Indian "myth of observation."

But Betanzos also obtained from the Indians what they claimed to be a *personal description* of the "Viracocha." (Cap. II, p. 7.) "que preguntando á los Indios que qué figura tenia este Viracocha cuando ansí le vieron los antiguos, segun que ellos tenian noticia, y dijéronme que era un hombre alto de cuerpo y que tenia una vestidura blanca que le daba hasta los piés, y questa vestidura traia ceñida; é que traia el cabello corto y una corona hecha en la cabeza á manera de sacerdote; y que andaba destocado, y que traia en las manos cierta cosa que á ellos les parece el dia de hoy como estos breviarios que los sacerdotes traian en las manos. Y esta es la razon que yo desto tuve, segun que los Indios me dijeron. Y preguntéles cómo se llamaba aquella persona en cuyo lugar aquella piedra era puesta, y dijéronme que se llama Con Tici Viracocha Pachayachachic, que quiere decir en su lengua, Dios Hacedor del Mundo." This information, he asserts, to have obtained from the Indians at Cacha, where fairly preserved remains of Inca architecture exist to-day and where a stone-statue made in remembrance of Viracocha existed at the time Betanzos made these inquiries. He saw it and many other Spaniards also. I have no doubt that Betanzos heard this tale from the Indians directly and that it is no invention of his; but, although only about fifteen years had elapsed since the first contact of the aborigines with Europeans, the possibility is not excluded that the former may, in order to ingratiate themselves with the latter, have represented the Viracocha as an apostle (of whom they had been repeatedly told already) and in the garb of a dominican monk, as the white robe would suggest. Leaving this aside, I call attention to the fact that the tales preserved by Betanzos are but repeated, with slight variations, by all writers subsequent to him, and that the additions which they made, bear a post-Columbian stamp. This I shall endeavor to establish.

Garcilasso de la Vega in his *Comentarios reales*, (Vol. I) discriminates between specific Inca tradition and traditions of other Peruvian tribes.

According to him, the former make no mention of Tiahuanaco, whereas the people of the Collao (Aymará) and those of Cuntisuyu west of Cuzco: "dizen pues que cessadas las aguas se apareció vn hombre en Tiahuanaco, que está al mediodia del Cozco, q̄ fué tan poderoso que repartió el mundo en quatro partes, y las dió á quatro hombres que llamó Reyes." This is, in substance, also the account of Betanzos. According to Garcilasso, the tradition mentioning Tiahuanaco is a Colla, hence Aymará tradition.

Two years after Betanzos had completed his work, the *Real Cédula* of December 20th, 1553, was promulgated, by which the Prince Regent of Spain ordered the royal Audencia of Peru to report upon primitive customs of the Peruvian Indians. According to Father Joseph de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1608, Lib. VI, p. 429) Philip II subsequently commanded a close inquiry into the origin, religious rites and customs of the Inca, and the outcome as far as officially known, is contained in two publications. One is entitled, *Relacion de las Idolatrias de los Incas é Indios y de como se enterraban*, (*Documentos inéditos de Indias*, Vol. XXI, pp. 131 to 220). The other bears the title of: *Informaciones acerca del Senorio y Gobierno de los Ingas*. (In the same volume with the *Memorias* of Montesinos, Madrid 1882, pp. 177 to 259). Both were made under the auspices of Don Francisco de Toledo, and neither mentions Tiahuanaco. The last embodies exclusively the declarations of Quichua Indians, the former (as far as the atrocious misprints of Indian names permit judging) were also of Cuzco Indians or of natives from the north and west, without a single Aymará or Colla among them. Hence it seems at least very likely, that the Tiahuanaco traditions are specifically Aymará.

At the time when the above mentioned investigations were carried on (1570 to 1572) the secular priest, Cristóbal de Molina, was at Cuzco, and he improved his position and constant intercourse with the Indians for collecting their traditions and folklore. Twenty years had elapsed since Betanzos did the same, and we may expect some changes, at least in the wording, of the stories. The writings of Molina are known to us as yet only in the English translation by Markham under the title of: *The Fables and Rites of the Incas*, (In: *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Incas*, Hackluyt Society, 1875). Molina claims, as one of his chief sources "But in a house of the Sun called Poquen Cancha, which is near Cuzco, they had the life of each one of the Yncas, with the lands they conquered, painted with figures on certain boards, and also their origin. Among these paintings the following fable was represented." &c.—

In another place: *Aboriginal Myths and Traditions concerning the Island of Titicaca*, (*American Anthropologist*). I have alluded to the analogy of the myths gathered by Molina with those preserved by Betanzos. The difference between the two consists mainly in the first statements of the former: "In the life of Manco Capac, who was the first Ynea and from whom they began to be called children of the Sun and to

worship the Sun, they had a full account of the deluge. They say that all people and all created things perished in it, in as far as the water rose above all the highest mountains in the world. No living things survived except a man and a woman, who remained in a box, and when the waters subsided, the wind carried them to Huanaco (Tiahuanaco is meant), which will be over 70 leagues from Cuzco, a little more or less."

Betanzos neither mentions a deluge nor does he connect Manco Capac with Tiahuanaco, and Cieza as well as Garcilasso are silent on both points. Molina, according to Cobo, *Historia*, (Vol. III, p. 118) collected the statements of old Indians, from times anterior to the conquest: "Y poco despues (referring to the investigations by order of Toledo) en otra junta general de los Indios viejos que habian alcanzado el reinado del Inca Guayna Capac, que hizo en la misma ciudad del Cuzco Cristóbal de Molina, cura de la parroquia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios del Hospital de los naturales, por mandado del Obispo D: Sebastian de Lar-taun, se averiguó lo mismo, resultando della una copiosa relacion de los ritos y fábulas que en su gentilidad tenian los Indios perunaos. La cual conforma en todo lo sustancial con la del licenciado Polo, con la que se hizo por órden de Don Francisco Toledo, que ambas viniéron á mi poder y parece haberlas seguido el padre Joseph de Acosta en lo que escribió del gobierno de los Incas, y de sus idolatrias, en los libros V y VI de su Historia de Indias. Ultimamente, Garcilaso de la Vega, en la primera parte que sacó á luz de la republica de los Incas, no se aparta cási en nada delas sobredichas relaciones."

The report of Polo de Ondegardo exists in Manuscript at Lima, but in Volume 17 of *Documentos inéditos de Indias*, under the headings of: *Relacion de los Fundamentos acerca del notable daño q̃e resulta de no guardar á los Indios sus fueros*, and *De la Orden que los Yndios tenyan en diuidir los tributos e distribuyrlos entre si*, both without signature but from the same date, June 26th, 1571, are probably from his pen also. On p. 9 he says that: "é avnque algúnos quieren decir que vinieron de otras partes á poblar allí; pero desto no hace mucho al caso, porque dizen que fué antes del Diluvio é traen allá ciertas ymaginaciones, como cosa tan antigua no ay para que parar en ello." It will be observed that according to the above, the oldest myths of the Indians refer to times *anterior* to the deluge, hence the latter was probably interpolated after the conquest. It seems likely that, after forty years of contact during which the church made strenuous efforts to inculcate into the mind of the Indians, not only precepts, but cosmogony and history, from the Bible, a part of these filtered into Indian tradition. If we eliminate the story of the deluge and the incident of Manco Capac, Molina tells us nothing, the substance of which is not already incorporated in the book of Betanzos.

The Jesuit Acosta, *Historia*, (Lib. 1, Cap. 25, p. 82) is concise, but unusually discriminating for his time. He says: "Como quiera que sea, dizen los Indios, que con aquel su diluvio, se ahogaron todos los hombres, y cuentan, que de la gran laguna Titicaca, salió vn Viracocha, el qual hizo assiento en Tiaguanaco, donde se veen oy ruinas y pedaços, de

edificios antiguos, y muy estraños, y que de alli vinieron al Cuzco, y assi tornó á multiplicarse el genero humano." Acosta came to Peru in 1569, and was sent to Cuzco as "visitor" of the Jesuit College of that city in 1571. He remained there until 1574, that is during the time of Toledo and Molina. His statement about the deluge is worthy of attention: "Ay entre ellos comunmente gran noticia, y mucha plática del diluuió, pero no se puede biẽ determinar, si el diluuió que estos refieren, es el uniuersal, que cuenta la diuina Escritura, ó si fué alguno otro diluuió, ó inundacion particular, de las regiones en que ellos morã: mas de que en aquestas tierras, hombres expertos dizen, que se ven señales claras, de auer auido alguna gran inundacion. Yo mas me llevo al parecer, de los que sienten, que los rastros y señales que ay de diluuió, no son del de Noe, sino de alguno otro particular,"—The "signs" to which he alludes were fossils, mollusks, recognized at an early day as *marine shells*. The Indian uses fossils of a striking form as fetishes, and it may be that explanations of these (by Spaniards, especially by priests) as evidences of a flood, also made an impression upon the Indian mind.

It is superfluous to mention here any of those authors who, like Gomara and Herrera, could not write from personal acquaintance with South America. The Dominican Gregorio Garcia however, resided for a number of years in Peru towards the end of the sixteenth century, and it is not immaterial that he accepts Betanzos without reserve. *Origen de los Indies de el Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales*, (Edition of 1729, Lib. V, Cap. VII, pp. 330 and 331). He copies him almost literally.

Leading Spanish writers from the seventeenth century appear, with one exception, as expounders and expanders of Betanzos. The exception is the Jesuit, Anello Oliva, who came to Peru from Naples in 1597, remaining there the remainder of his life. He died at Lima in 1642. His book, *Historia del Peru y Varones insignes en Santidad de la Compañia de Jesus*, was concluded in 1631 and lately published at Lima. In it there is a statement (p. 38): "Luego diuidió el Reino en quatro partes que son las mismas en que el grar Huyustus antes que començara á reinar su padre Manco Capac lo auia repartido.y passó á las partes de Tyyay Vanaca por ver sus edificios que antiguamente llamaban Chucara, cuya antigüedad nadie supo determinatla. Mas solo que alli viuia el gran señor Huyustus que decian era Señor de todo el mundo." One of Oliva's chief informants was an Indian from Cochabamba (central Bolivia) bearing the Aymará name of Catari. The story does not conflict with Betanzos, there is even a decided resemblance with the performances of Viracocha at Tiahuanaco. But the name "Huyustus," if obtained from Indians, is neither Aymará nor Quichua.

The Quichua Indian, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, wrote, early in the seventeenth century, a *Relacion de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Peru*, published at Madrid in 1879 in a volume entitled: *Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas*. He was "natural de los pueblos de Hananguaygua y Huringuai-Guacanchi de Orcasuyo, entre Canas y Canchis de Collasuyu," Collasuyu having formerly been

mostly occupied by Aymará Indians, it is not unlikely that Salcamayhua heard Aymará traditions. And *folklore* (he asserts) was his almost exclusive source. "Digo que emos oydo siendo niño noticias antiquisimos y las ystorias, barbarismos y fábulas del tiempo de las gentilidades, que es como se sigue, que entre los naturales á las cosas de los tiempos pasados siempre los suelen hablar."

Salcamayhua says nothing of a deluge. Neither does he mention an earliest period of obscurity. He begins with the world already created, but when evil spirits roamed over the earth and showed themselves to mankind. Then there appeared a bearded man, of middle height and with long hair, wearing a long shirt. He is said to have been of more than mature age, with grey hair, thin, and he carried a stick. This personage he calls (I omit the portentous complete name) Tonapa or Tarapaca but also Viracochan, &c. He preached to the natives, reprimanding them for their vicious habits; Salcamayhua therefore identifies him with the Apostle Saint Thomas. After many wanderings among the Aymarás and on the shores of Lake Titicaca, Tonapa came to Tiahuanaco which was then inhabited; "en donde le bió un pueblo llamado Tiya-guanaco, que en ella dicen que estaban la gente de aquel pueblo entendi-endo en sus borracheras y bayles, adonde dicho Tunapa, á la despedida, lo han llegado, predicarles como solian hazer, el qual no fueron oydos; y dicen que de puro enojo les dijo, alsando los ojos al cielo en la lengua de aquella tierra. Y como se partió de aquel lugar, toda la gente ques-tauan baylando se quedó hechas piedras, combertiendose, que hasta el dia de oy se echa de ber. Remito á los que han pasado por alli. "From Tiahuanaco he went to the Desaguadero and thence to the sea.

Betanzos does not mention the name Tunapa or Tonapa, but the story told by Salcamayhua about Tiahuanaco is the Viracocha tale under another name. Cieza, in mentioning Viracocha, also calls him Tuapaca. Tonapa is, therefore, only another designation for the Viracocha of Betanzos. We, ourselves, heard the story from a Quichua Indian of Azangaro in Peru, who called Tonapa "Juan Rubio"; and also from Aymará Indians of Sicasica in Bolivia. It is intimately connected with the yet mysterious cross of Carabuco on the eastern shores of Lake Titicaca.

About the time when Salcamayhua composed his *Relacion*, the tale of Tonapa appeared in the book of the Augustine Fray Alonzo Ramos, *Historia del celebre y milagroso Santuario de la Ynsigne Ymagen de Nra Sra de Copacabana*. (Lima 1621.) (Cap. 27, 28, 29 and 30, Parte primera.) Ramos does not mention Tiahuanaco. His information may have come from several sources. In the first place from the Indians of the western shores of Titicaca, where Ramos was stationed for a long time at Copacavana; from Carabuco, where the mysterious cross had been exhumed about forty years previous to the publication of his book,—and from the investigations at Cuzco.

Subsequent writers of the Augustine order followed Ramos almost literally in regard to the Island of Titicaca, but the ponderous chronicles of Father Antonio de la Calancha contain considerable information on

Tiahuanaco. The first volume of the *Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, appeared in 1638: the second, *Coronica moralizada de la Provincia del Perú del orden de San Agustín Nuestro Padre*, (very rare) in 1651. Both were printed at Lima. What Calancha claims to be Indian tradition about Tiahuanaco is contained in the first volume: (Lib. II, Cap. X, p. 566). "Decían los Indios—Que aviendo Dios criado el Mūdo (que ellos llamā Pachayachachie, i quiere decir, el Maestro i Criador del mundo, i el Dios invisible) i en él los onbres le fueron menospreciando, porque los unos adorauan rios, otros fuentes, mōtes i peñascos, i los azian iguales á él en diuinidad; sentia mucho el Dios Pachayachachio semejante delito, i les castigava con rayos esta injuria. El castigo no enfrenava su iniquidad, i así irritado del todo les arrojó tan gran aguacero, i tan inmēsa cantidad de agua, que aogó todos los onbres, de los quales se escaparon algunos (no culpados) permitiendole, Dios, que se subiesen en altissimos árboles, en coronas de las encumbrados montes, i se escondiesen en cuevas, i grutas de la tierra, de donde los sacó, quando el llover avia cesado, i les dió órden que poblasen la tierra, i fuesen dueños della, donde viviesen alegres i dichosos. Ellos agradecidos á las cuevas, montes, árboles i escondrijos, los tenian en grā veneracion, i les començarō sus ijos á adorar, aziēdo á cada uno Idolo i guaca. E aqui el origen de tanta multitud de adoratorios i guacas; q̄ fue, el dezir q̄ cada familia q̄ á su progenitor anparó tal mōte, árbol ó cueva, enterrādose donde estava enterrado su primer progenitor. Bolvióse Su Dios á enojar, i convirtió á todos los maestros destos adoratorios en piedras duras, como á endurecidos, á quien rayos de fuego, ni grandes diluvios de agua avian enfrenado. Asta entonces no avia el Pachayachachie criado al Sol, la Luna i las ostrellas, i fuélas á criar al pueblo de Tiagunaco, i á la laguna Titicaca de Chuchito. El Sol se fué luego al Indio Mangocapac, i le proijó é izo Rey, poniendole todas las insignias que usaron los Ingas &ca. &ca."

This is in substance the story told by Betanzos with the addition of the deluge and of Manco Capac. Calancha previously makes the following remark: "el Indio Mancocapac primero Rey del Perú era natural de Tiaguanaco ó de algū poblezuelo conjunto á él, era de corazon valeroso como verēmos presto i al començar su señorío se debió de valer de introducir á los Indios, que aquel que le libró en las aguas i repartió los Reynos avia dado á sus antecesores el señorío destas tierras; porque si no se juntan así las palabras de la tradicion (dejādo lo fabuloso de Tiaguanaco i de la piedra de Tanbo) ni era posible entonces navegar tan innumerables mares ni ir á fundar el primer pueblo á Tābo ni á Tiaguanaco. Este nōbre no lo tuvo el pueblo antes que tuviesen Reyes (here follows the well-known etymology of Tiahuanaco according to Garcilasso de la Vega). . . ." Calancha objects to the Viracocha tradition on the ground of the impossibility to cross seas and oceans, while it appears to him perfectly plausible that Tunupa was the apostle, St. Thomas. He makes him land somewhere in Brazil and thence, accompanied by a disciple called Taapac, travel through Paraguay and Bolivia to Tia-

huanaco. "Pasó el santo Predicador á Tiahuanaco, Provincia del Collao, que está al mediodia del Cuzco, donde yo é estado dos veces, muestra aver sido gran poblacion i tiene edificios de piedra con tanto primor asentadas, que sin mezcla, ni otto betun prometan perpetuidad. Aqui dicen los Indios que apareció el primer ombre saliendo de la laguna, i crió los demas onbres, i izo la creacion del sol i las Estrellas: repartió el mundo entre quatro." At the same time he suggests a significative explanation. (Lib. I, Cap. XIV, p. 93). "Fábula como clausula de Papagayo, que cojiendo como media razon de uno, i un pedaço de otro forma un disparate, oyeró al primero que se multiplicó acá, que despues de echo todo el mundo, i criado Dios Sol, Luna i Estrellas, por pecados vino el Diluvio que dejó el Mundo echo Laguna, i della salió su progenitor á tierra i repartió el Mundo entre sus tres hijos i poniendo lo último al principio formaron su disparate que tan asentado estuvo en estos Indios. Aqui predicó el Decipulo santo, i solo se sabe que aviendoles predicado nuestra Fé i sus vicios sucedió lo que dicen dos Autores alegando al que lo escribe en estas palabras, En Tiaguanaco ay grandes antiguallas i entre ellas muchas figuras de onbres i mugeres, dicen los Indios presentes, que por grandes pecados que iziéron los de aquel tiempo, i porque apedrearón á un onbre que pasó por aquella Provincia, fueron convertidos en aquellas Estatuas."

By attributing the primary cause of the creation and deluge myths to the Apostle, Saint Thomas, Calancha tacitly admits that they are of Christian origin and subsequently incorporated in Indian lore. He also alludes to the stone-figures of Tiahuanaco as having given rise to the "myth of observation," that people were turned into stone at some remote period. Still we must not overlook the fact that at the time of Betanzos this tale of petrification was current among the Indians so that, while possibly an observation myth, it originated *prior* to the conquest, whereas the tale of the deluge is of post-Columbian introduction.

I close with the short statement of Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, (Vol. IV, Cap. XIX, p. 65) "porque tenian por opinion los Indios del Collao, que este pueblo estaba en medio del Mundo, y que dél salieron despues del Diluvio los que lo tornaron á poblar."

It results from the above: 1. That Tiahuanaco was built and settled at such a remote period, that clear recollection of its builders is lost. They may have been Aymará, but there is no evidence of it as yet.

2. That the first settlement of Tiahuanaco, stood in some relation to the *Island of Titicaca*.

3. That the original traditions concerning Tiahuanaco are *Aymara*, not *Quichua*, folk-lore. These conclusions are not intended as final. They are a mere résumé of the material which I consider thus far presentable. Sources will come up that may modify them to a considerable extent. Besides, there are inklings pointing at the existence of data which would throw unexpected light upon aboriginal Indian tradition of Peru. But the time has not come yet to determine whether these indications rest on substantial foundations or not.

³³ *Ordenanzas del Peru*. (Edition of 1752, Vol. I, Lib. II, Tit. IX, Ordenanza VIII, folio 146.)

³⁴ P: Ludovico Bertonio, *Arte de la Lengua Aymara*, (Reprint by Platzmann, 1879, Original from 1603, p. 10, "Al Letor"). "En quanto á la primera destas tres cosas digo, que principalmente se enseña en esta arte la lengua Lupaca, la qual no es inferior á la Pacasa, que entre todas las lenguas Aymáricas tiene el primer lugar; y es mucho mas elegante, que todas las demas, que arriua hemos nombrado. La razon desto puede ser: porque ordinariamente hablan mejor la lengua materna los que están en los extremos. . . . como están los Pacases y Lupacas en medio de todas los Aymaraes."

³⁵ This seems already to have been the case at the time of E. G. Squier, *Peru*, (Chapter 3, pp. 302 and 303).

³⁶ It is needless to prove it. The fact is too well known. I would only call attention to the observation of Bertonio, *Vocabulario*, (I, fol. 28) "mas proprio es Hatha." The word "Ayllu" may be originally Quichua gradually introduced among the Aymará by contact.

³⁷ *Ordenanzas del Peru*, (Vol. I, Lib. II, Tit. IX, fol. 145. Ordenanza II). "Primeramente, porq̃ entre los Indios se acostumbra que quando la India de vn Aylo, ó repartimiento se casa con Indio de otro repartimiento, ó Aylo, y el marido se muere dexando hijos ó hijas los Caciques Principales cuya era la India antes que se casase la compelen á bolver al repartimiento, y Aylo adonde era antes, y llevar consigo los hijos que huvo del marido. Ordeno, y mando, que á India de vn Repartimiento, parcialidad, y Aylo que se casase con Indio de otro, dexasen los hijos que en ella huviere havido su marido en el repartimiento parcialidad, y Aylo donde su padre era tributario, porque alli lo han de ser ellos, y ella se passe á su repartimiento, ó Aylo, si sus Caziques, ó Principales la pidieren, dexándola estar algun tiempo con sus hijos hasta que el menor dellos sea de edad de ocho años para arriba, porque no les haga falta su ausencia al tiempo antes." This Ordinance had in view only the facilitation of tax-gathering, but it virtually broke up the rules of Indian descent in many places though not everywhere, as the following document shows. *Adjudicaciones de Indios en la Visita de Reduccion general, en Huaicho*, November 8th, 1608, (MSS. pertaining to the collection of Don Manuel Vicente Ballivian, La Paz). All the Indian children were adjudicated to the clans of their mothers and even to the villages if they had not been born at Huaicho.

³⁸ *Libro de cassados que pertenece a este pueblo de Tiaguanaco comienza a ocho de Henero de 1694 A^o, siendo Cura propio Fr. Gabriel de Barcetta y Guillestegui*. "Los cassados naturales deste d^{ho} pue^o se hallarán puestos en sua dos parcia^s, Hananzaia (f. 3) Hurinzaia." The custom, of the principals of the two divisions occupying distinct sides on ceremonial occasions, is already described by Joan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Peru con todas las cosas pertenecientes a el y a su historia*, (MSS. Lenox, no date, but after 1559 and before 1570, Cap. 6, folio 19). "Los de la parcialidad de Anansaya se asientan á la mano izquierda en sus asientos

vajos que llaman Duos acada vno por su orden, é los de Vriansaya ala mano izquierda tras su Cazique Prinzipal y los de Anansaya a la mano derecha tras su Curaca. . ."

³⁹ MSS. *Ut supra*.—Mazaya and Arazaya are called "parcialidades" in 1710, and as such, plainly distinguished from the Allyu or clans. In 1586 Tiahuanaco is stated to have had about 800 tributary Indians: *Relacion de la Provincia de los Pacajes*, (In Vol. II of the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, p. 55). "Tiene ochocientos y tantos Indios tributarios, que solian estar en diez pueblos." The latter is interesting, since it establishes that the Aymará who occupied the region at the time of the conquest, lived as scattered as elsewhere on the Bolivian Puna. The number of tributary Indians is given in 1596 (five years later) officially at 868. *Relacion de los Indios tributarios &c.* (*Documentos inéditos de Indias*, Vol. VI, p. 50.)

⁴⁰ I give the names of the clans of Tiahuanaco as they appear. The orthography varies in some cases and I cannot guarantee its correctness. Chambi (also Champi and Chanbi), Aparo (also Aparu), Lupi, Colliri, Achaca, Chiu, Calaoa, Guancolla (Achaca, Calacca and Guancolla are said to pertain to Hurinzaia), Guaraya, Caasa, (also Casa and Cassa), Tarqui, Achuta, and Cuipa. Chambi is ascribed to Arazaiia.

⁴¹ *Peru*, (p. 304). He calls it the Chuñu-feast. There is no such celebration. What Mr. Squier saw was simply the dances at Corpus Christi which are indeed pre-Columbian in character, but tolerated by the church with certain restrictions.

⁴² "Sico" is the name of the flute played by the Sicuri, hence the name. Bertonio, *Vocabulario*, (II, folio 316).

⁴³ *Vocabulario*, (II, Folio 288). "Quena Quena: Cosa muy agugerada." (f. 289) "Qena Quena Pincollo. Flauta de caña."

⁴⁴ The viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo already restricted the Indian festivities, *Ordenanzas del Peru*, (Lib. II, Tit. IX, Ord. IX, fol. 146). "Iten, mando, que los Indios é Indias comunes, ni Caziques, ni principales no hagen taquies, ni borracheras; y si algunos bayles quisieren hazer sea de dia, y en lugares, y fiestas públicas con licencia del Corregidor, y Sacerdote, á quien se encarga se la den con moderacion y con apercibimiento, que haciendolo de otra manera, serán castigados." The *Constituciones synodales del Arçobispado de los Reyes, en el Peru* (1613, reprint from 1722, Cap. VI, fol. 7) ordained: "Y para que con el favor de Nuestro Señor se quiten las ocasiones que por experiencia se han visto, que lo han sido para las dichas Ydolatrias, y el Demonio no prosiga en sus engaños, estarán advertidos de no consentir los vayles, cantares, ó taquies antiguos, en lengua materna ni General, y harán que se consuman los instrumentos que para ellos tienan, como son los tamborillos, cabeças de venados, antaras, y plumeria, y los demas que se hallaren, dexando solamente los atambores de que vsan en las danças de la fiesta del Corpus Christi, y de otros sanctos y prohibarán las borracheras castigando álos que hallaren culpados en ellas, . . ." A very stringent prohibition of the sale of new wine to Indians is contained in

the *Constituciones synodales* of 1656, (Reprint from 1722, fol. 51, Cap. 7). "Iten, por el grave y conocido daño o resulta á los Indios de llevarles algunos Curas, y algunos Corregidores vino nuevo á los pueblos de los dichos Indios, de darles fiada la botija de vino (que quando mucho á costado á veinte reales) por diez, ó doce pessos, de que á resultado el acabamiento, y diminucion de los Indies, por ser como es, cosa muy cierta que los mas mueren de beber dicho vino y por fomentar las borracheras con su ocasion."

The primitive Indian dances, that is the three principal ones, were easily made to coincide with the principal feasts of the church, as the Indians had no fixed days for them. In the *Carta pastoral de Exortacion é Instruccion contra las Idolatrias de los Indios del Arçobispado de Lima*, (Lima 1649, fol. 43) there is the following statement by the author, Archbishop Villagomez: "Acabadas las confesiones en las fiestas solemnes, que suelen ser tres cada Son; la principal cerca del corpus, ó en ella misma que llaman Oncoymita, que es quando aparecen las seite cabrillas, que llaman Oncoy, las quales adoran porque no se les sequen los maizes; la otra es al principio de las aguas por Naudad, ó poco despues; y esta suele ser al trueno, y al rayo, porque embiê lluias; otra suele ser quando cogen el maiz, que llaman Ayrihuamita porque baylan el Ayrihua." These three Indian festivals so nearly coincide with Corpus Christi, Christmas, and Easter, that they could be performed under cover of the church celebration. This was soon discovered by the clergy. I refer, among others, to the following passage of the *Exortacion e Instruccion*, (folio 57). "15.—Si en las fiestas del Corpus Christia, ó en otras fiestas de la Iglesia, fingiendo los Indios que hacê fiestas de christianos, an adorado, ó adoran occultamente á sus idolos, ó an hecho ó hacen otros ritos."

⁴⁵ This fact is established by nearly all the sources of older date.

⁴⁶ Pedro Piazarro, *Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Peru &ca*, (In *Documentos par la Historia de España*, Vol. 5, p. 278). "Emborrachábanse muy á menudo, y estando borrachos todo lo que el demonio les traia á la voluntad hacian." Also (p. 347). There is at this day, a dance, called Mimula, which is prohibited on account of its obscenity. We saw it twice, though only at night and in dark corners of the square or street.

⁴⁷ "Irupa" means to conduct. Our information in regard to the nature of the office is as yet contradictory and insufficient.

⁴⁸ It is easy to notice, that this word is post-Columbian, the second part of it being Spanish.

⁴⁹ Cieza, *Segunda Parte de la Crónica*, (Cap. VII, p. 26).

⁵⁰ Bertonio, *Vocabulario*, (II, f. 101) translates Lari Lari by "wild people."

⁵¹ Hinchu is ear in Aymará. Kañu means dirty.

⁵² P. Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, S. J.—*Extirpacion de la Ydolatria del Piru*. Lima 1621, (p. 3). The first investigation of an official character at Tiahuanaco was carried on about 1621 by Bartolomé de Dueñas.

Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Ydolatria*, (Cap. IX, p. 53) "y mucho mas escribe de Tiahuanaco el Visitador Bart; de Dueñas q dexo, por no ser largo."

⁵³ Besides abundant documentary evidence there is the testimony of the graves themselves, where human remains are always accompanied by vessels for food and drink.

⁵⁴ This conception of Saint James (Santiago) as god of lightning, called forth special edicts from the higher clergy. It is mentioned in *Exortacion e Instruccion* (fol. 46). "De qualquiera manera que sea, vsurpan con grande supersticion el nombre de Santiago: y assi entre las demas constituciones que dexan los visitadores acabada la visita, es vna, que nadie se llame Santiago, sino Diego." (Idem, *Edicto*, f. 57). "26—Si an tenido, o tienen mucho tiempo de por bautizar á sus hijos siēdo ya grandes, ó silos q̄ ya están bautizados se an llamado, ó llamā con los nombres de sus huacas, ó con el del trueno, llamandose Curi, ó con el del rayo, llamandose Libiac, ó Santiago." This is taken in turn from Arriaga. *Extirpacion, &ca.* (Cap. VI, p. 33). He suggests the same explanation attempted in the text.

⁵⁵ *Exortacion* (fol. 47). "En hacer sus casas tienen, como en todas las demas cosas, muchas supersticiones, combidando de ordinario á los de su aylo. Rocian con chicha los cimientos, y sacrificandola para que no se caygan las paredes: y despues de hecha la casa, tambien la asperjan con la misma chicha." Ramos, *Historia* (Edition of 1870, I, p. 41). "Era costumbre mui comun entre estas jentes el juntar á los agoreros, para que despues de haber tomado su chicha, coca y otras necedades designasen el lugar y la figura de la casa ó choza que pensaban hacer. Miraban al ayre, escuchaban pájaros, como aruspices, invocaban á sus lares ó al demonio, con cantares tristes, al son de tamboriles destemplados; y pronosticando el bueno ó mal suceso empezaban la construccion, poniendo á veces coca mascada en el cimiento, y sus asperjos de chicha. Concluida la obra, en que solian ayudarse, la festejaban con bailes, y convites conforme á sus alcances. . . Aún ahora no han acabado de perder esas abusiones al fabricar sus casitas." This was in 1621 and at Copacavana.

SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESIDERATA IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

BY WILLIAM MACDONALD.

It is not necessary to argue before this Society the importance of bibliography, or to plead for the recognition of bibliography as a substantive part of historical research or publication. The historian who to-day aspires to writing of the larger sort, the production of definitive histories as distinguished from monographs, is not only grateful for, but must depend very largely upon, the bibliographical investigations of others; while the learning involved in the preparation of a comprehensive and adequate bibliography, even of a small topic, is sometimes quite as great, and hence quite as worthy of honor, as that required for the production of a narrative, a biography, or a formal treatise. The editing of documents has long been regarded as a worthy historical performance, and there is no reason why the critical editing of titles, when done with equal precision and range, should not be equally esteemed.

The purpose of this paper is to call attention briefly to certain of the more pressing bibliographical needs in the field of American history. I intentionally omit all consideration of the numerous bibliographies of small subjects, or of parts of large subjects, many of them highly meritorious, which have appeared in recent years; and I also pass by, as having quite a different aim, the selective and more or less popular bibliographies with which almost every writer of historical pretensions feels it necessary to round out his volumes. What I am concerned with, rather, is certain larger and much more

serious undertakings; not lightly to be entered upon, indeed, but very much in need of being done. The plain fact of the matter is, that, with the enormous mass of historical material in the American field now available, and the portentous annual increment of publication, we are seriously in danger of being swamped in the effort to manage any considerable part of it; or, what is worse, of losing the sense of historical perspective altogether, and of assuming that we are really writing history when we are editing somebody's journal, or publishing the annals of some local church, or tabulating the prices of commodities a century or two ago. And since we may be assured that the publication of such material will go on, gaining in scope and significance from year to year, we must in some way keep abreast of it; which means that we must prepare to do a great deal of systematic and comprehensive bibliographical work.

I earnestly hope that it will not be considered presumptuous, or in the least in derogation of the courtesy which should always exist in the relations of learned societies, if I call attention first of all to a work which, in the field of historical bibliography, has as yet neither rival nor superior. I refer to Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America." If I had to dispense with all the older books of American history that could be got on without, I could let most of them go, with only moderate grief and tears, save three: Richard Hildreth, for the as yet unrivalled comprehensiveness and accuracy of his information; Moses Coit Tyler, for the searching insight of his "Literary History of the American Revolution"; and Justin Winsor, for his "critical essays" and general bibliographical notes. In the breadth and sureness of Winsor's bibliographical knowledge, as well as in the ease with which he handled it, his scholarship, like his volumes, was monumental.

Yet the twenty-five years that have elapsed since the publication of the "Narrative and Critical History" began have witnessed enormous changes in both the

character and bulk of American historical material. Much that was then in manuscript has been printed, and some, unhappily, lost; many books once authoritative have been superseded; new books have poured forth like a flood; monographic series have been created and multiplied. The statements of Winsor's bibliographies can no longer be accorded the measure of authority which they once had. In certain other respects, too, the work has come to seem old; for example, the arrangement of the notes is not always such as to facilitate their use, and the indexes are inadequate.

I am well aware that anyone who to-day suggests the issuance of another co-operative history, invites denunciation as a disturber of the public peace. Yet I frankly wish that, so far at least as the bibliographies are concerned, we might have a new edition of Winsor, or a work which bibliographically, at least, should be comparable to it. The task is a large one, and not every historical scholar is competent to engage in it. Perhaps the suggestion should best come from our friend and neighbor, the Massachusetts Historical Society, with the co-operation of a number of whose members the original work was carried through; but in view of the fact that the President of that Society has said grace over our own new cornerstone, and that we have furnished a large part of the Mather Diary which that Society is now printing, it would not, I am sure, be thought unbecoming in the American Antiquarian Society to express its interest in the rejuvenation of a work which, after all the wear and tear of time, is still the greatest single product of American historical scholarship and a treasured possession of the learned world.

A second urgent need is for a bibliography of American newspapers and other periodicals. The importance of newspapers as historical sources has been, if not underestimated, at least scantily recognized, by historians; and with the exception of our associate, Professor McMaster, few writers of comprehensive histories have made either extended or systematic use of them. Yet

I have come to believe that neither our political nor our social development can be truly set forth until the wealth of data hidden in newspapers and magazines has been opened up and made available. It is to the newspapers that we must go, for example, to complete our information about the growth of colonial commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; the influence of English politics on the political activities and public opinion of the colonies; the progress and character of the Revolutionary agitation of the eighteenth century; the reasons for the success of the Federal Constitution, one of the most interesting topics awaiting its finished treatment; and about the nature and growth of slavery. In the nineteenth century, one must seek largely in newspapers and magazines the origin and history of such great religious agitations as the Unitarian movement, or the movements of social reform which multiply after 1815 in the East and the West, or the influence of European thought upon the great flowering period of American literature, or those great international reactions of culture and social activity which more and more have brought the American and the European mind to common ground.

If the bibliographical undertaking which I first mentioned is one which we, as a Society, might offer to share with the Massachusetts Historical Society, a newspaper bibliography is pre-eminently our own task; since nowhere else is there a collection of such material comparable to our own. I do not underrate the magnitude of the work; it is, perhaps, the most considerable undertaking of a bibliographical sort that now needs to be done, although a well-organized co-operative plan would lighten the labor. Once definitely accomplished, however, and with the partial or complete files now extant located and listed, the historian would be in a position to begin the work, which we all realize has got to be done, of writing large sections of American history over again, as well as of taking up numerous important topics which as yet, for lack of such assistance, lie neglected.

What has been said about newspapers and magazines applies with equal force to early American statute law. Having had in preparation, for what is coming to seem a good many years, a collection of the English statutes relating to America, fortified with references intended to show the influence of those statutes on the laws of the colonies and states, I have had much occasion to feel the great lack of a comprehensive bibliography. The material is widely scattered, some of it is of exceeding rarity, the editions are numerous and confusing, and some of the bibliographical problems intricate. Yet in scarcely any field to-day are more interesting and substantial results to be had than in the field of American legal history. Whether the laws of the colonies be regarded as part of an English inheritance, or as a reflection of social conditions, or as an effort to delimit or coerce a future social development; or, as in New England, when mingled with Calvinistic theology and the Pentateuch, as an heroic attempt to justify the ways of God to man, it is to the statutes that we must go if we would discover why many things were as they were. As a whole, this is a class of material hitherto comparatively little drawn upon, and often regarded as closed to any save the highly trained lawyer. There is here an opportunity for a scholar, apt in bibliography as well as competent in legal knowledge, to point out the extent and whereabouts of the few hundred volumes in which the history of American law and jurisprudence, as well as of our political institutions and opinions, is in large part recorded; and thus to pave the way for a history of American law.

A fourth desideratum is a bibliography of American travel. At Brown University we have for some years been buying all the books of this class that came in our way; and the collection, supplemented by those of the John Carter Brown Library and the Rhode Island Historical Society, may in time become tolerably complete. I could hardly mention a more interesting task than the preparation of such a bibliography would be.

It has much of the fascination of discovery, not to speak of the perennial interest of learning what our neighbors and guests have thought about us. The bulk of such material of English and American origin is considerable, while the titles in French, German, and other languages run far into the hundreds. The German travel literature is peculiarly rich and voluminous, particularly for the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries; and even a superficial acquaintance with it shows an extensive field of recorded observation into which few historians have entered. The wide-spread interest in Europe, especially in Germany and France, from the years of the Revolution to 1850, in what was going on in America, and the influence of American ideas and achievements upon political, economic, and philosophical thought in Europe, is a subject which will some day be developed, and upon which the travel literature will throw indispensable light. Incidentally, the extent to which foreign observers, and, for that matter, American observers also, have borrowed from one another, or padded their pages with data whose printed source they failed to acknowledge, is historically worth knowing; as fully, for example, as we already know about Carver and Chateaubriand.

Akin to the travel literature in importance, and historically best considered in connection with it, is the considerable amount of writing about America by Europeans who never visited it, but who derived their impressions of the country and its people from the travel narratives of their countrymen, or the pages of a few documents or early histories. If the often inaccuracy of this literature disposes one to think it of relatively small significance, we should remember that the historian has to deal with ideas as well as with events; with popular impression as well as with demonstrable truth; and that in the field of international relations, as well as in those higher realms of learning and culture which ought to know no geographical boundaries, what America was supposed to be has often been quite as determining a

factor as any assured knowledge of what America actually was.

Less voluminous, but still ranging over pretty much the whole field of American history, and greatly needed by the student, would be a bibliography of town, city, and county histories, and of printed local records. In no class of historical material, perhaps, is there greater variation in quality, method, and permanent value. Many local histories are little more than aggregations of material, thrown together with little skill or intelligence, the work of compilers with more zeal than discernment; yet preserving in their ill-printed pages a priceless wealth of data, tradition, formal record, or documents. Others, again, are the ripe work of mature and well-trained scholars, who for the love of history have told the story of their town or county in worthy literary form and scientific spirit. Not even the worst of them, I feel confident, can be neglected, or fails to include much that posterity ought to know. The work of the historian would be greatly facilitated by the publication of a complete list of such books, containing not only the usual bibliographical information, but also a critical analysis and appraisal; for in bibliography it is not enough to know what has been printed; we want to know also whether or not it has been printed well, or is in truth what it purports to be. In the same class, of course, and properly to be included in the same exhibit, is the scanty list of printed local records. A colored map showing the towns, cities, and counties whose histories have been written or local records published, would be very informing.

On the subject of the Indians I have no special knowledge, but a comprehensive bibliography of works on that subject is a much-needed addition to our historical helps. The problem here seems to be mainly one of critical evaluation. Rather more, I venture to think, than in any other department, the scientific studies of recent years have rendered obsolete a considerable mass of earlier writing; and a further considerable quan-

tity, if not wholly obsolete, is no longer authoritative as a whole. A good deal of the newest and most reliable data has to be sought in relatively unfamiliar quarters, or in extended series of publications, like those of the Bureau of Ethnology or the Peabody Museum, which still lack comprehensive indexes; while another large portion must be sought in languages other than English. A critical bibliography of this important literature would seem to be a work well worth undertaking, and an appropriate one in the present state of knowledge of the subject.

I have left until the last two historical fields which, though of limited chronological extent, are seriously in need of bibliographical treatment. One of these is the American Revolution. It is entirely natural that the years of our birth as a nation should retain for us perennial interest, and that the stream of publication should flow steadily on. The literature of the American Revolution is immense, and of the greatest variety: statutes, proclamations, judicial records, legislative journals and documents, town records, records of provincial congresses, of committees of correspondence, of committees of safety, newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides, sermons, printed narratives, military and naval records, diplomatic correspondence, personal letters, diaries and autobiographies, and maps. Many important sources exist in a number of editions, varying appreciably in completeness, accuracy, or editorial method; others still remain in their original issues, carefully housed in a few libraries, beyond the reach of the majority of workers. There is hardly any part of the field in which the study of new classes of material—such, for example, as newspapers or sermons—is not throwing new light on old topics, and changing correspondingly our opinions regarding them. Yet there is still a great deal that must be known before the true story of the American Revolution can be written. Such are the state of public opinion before and during the war; the civil history of the States and local communities during

the period of hostilities; and the economic conditions in the country throughout the period. The material for the study of these questions exists in print, at least in quantity sufficient to serve as a basis for conclusions and generalizations; but we need a bibliographer to make it available. In the correlation of the great masses of European documents which are now, thanks to the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, being industriously explored, with what is already accessible in this country, there is a work which may well attract any scholar or learned society that cares for large things. With all the work that has been done upon it, the period grows upon our hands the more we study it. We are eager for every tool and implement that will help us to dig to the foundation of it, or take the measure of its every part, or view it from every possible angle. I have sometimes thought that if only I could understand why Washington and Franklin sided with the Revolution rather than with the mother country, when they were free to take either course, I might with more confidence hope sometime to understand American history.

The other field in which bibliographical guidance is greatly needed is the Civil War. Here again, as in the American Revolution, the material with which the historian must acquaint himself covers almost every form of printed record; but the bulk of the material far exceeds that relating to any other epoch. Besides the Federal and State governments, whose official documentary publications number thousands of volumes, and the military historians, who have poured out a torrent of regimental and other histories, there is also available a large literature of reminiscence and biography. If one may judge by the current catalogues of second-hand collections and auction sales, there is still a robust demand for Civil War literature; while the offerings of the last two or three years suggest that some pretty large accumulations are being worked off. I confess to a feeling that the value of much of this literature is

in inverse proportion to its bulk; but whether that be so or not, there is great need of a critical guide to the thousands of volumes in which is recorded the history of our great civil struggle. Now that the war has become, for most of us, an historical fact rather than a personal experience, the task of critical appraisal has been made easier, and libraries may buy with more discernment and assurance.

It is always interesting to observe the channels in which, from generation to generation, the writing of a people's history seems successively to flow. The conception of history as a whole is, for most of us, too large and too vague; it is easier and more satisfying to single out the one or two aspects of a great subject that most appeal to us, and to study and write about them. Thus, in American history our historians have principally concerned themselves with political and constitutional questions; with the addition, in New England, of ecclesiastical issues and controversies. So far as political development goes, that has been treated mainly on its national side; and the great question of slavery has been handled most commonly as a question of politics. With the exception of early cartography, no other aspect of the subject seems to have engaged persistently the attention of a considerable number of scholars, or been accepted by the schools and the public as the kind of history that ought to be written.

Nevertheless, I think we are all coming to see that this limited conception of the historical field needs to be much enlarged. Thanks largely to the leadership of Professor Turner, the history of the West is beginning to be written, but a great deal more must be done in that direction before even the political side of our national life will be fully understood. With the exception of national finance, our financial history as a whole has been little explored. We have no more than touched the fringes of our economic and social history, notwithstanding that economic influences have undoubtedly been very potent in shaping political and constitutional

issues. On the economic aspect of negro slavery we still need a great deal more light. We have hardly any first-rate state history, and very few good town or city histories; while as regards ecclesiastical history and legal history, those two domains have hardly been entered at all. The number of definitive biographies of American public men is very small, perhaps less than twenty-five. If one steps into the fascinating realm of what may be called the history of ideas, and seeks to know the evolution of American culture or the place of the American mind in the world of thought, he must for the most part grope his way without guide or map. It should be a chastening reflection that the most searching and thoughtful book yet written on the American Revolution, the "Literary History" of Moses Coit Tyler, should still be almost the only representative of its class.

All of this means, of course, that the study of American history is rapidly enlarging its scope, entering new fields as well as reworking old ones. The greatest obstacle, as I see it, is just now the lack of critical bibliography to show us exactly what our historical riches are, and where they are. With all the numerous agencies already at work, there are still important tasks waiting to be done. The larger ones, very likely, are necessarily co-operative in their nature; the lesser ones are well within the powers of individual workers. I venture to hope that in these important undertakings this Society may take a worthy share.

A KINDLIER LIGHT ON EARLY SPANISH RULE IN AMERICA.

BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

A Yucatan friend once said to me: "You Americans are not just to the early Spanish Government of the Americas. You still see the Spaniard through the early English spectacles, and for Spaniards those old English lenses were ever out of focus, they could not give clear vision." This friend was a travelled man, a student and a deep thinker. His remarks were always worthy of my attention, but I was especially struck with the possible truth of this particular statement, and ever afterward had it in mind when criticism more or less acrid was made of the early Spanish rule in the Americas.

Looking at the matter calmly, impartially, as American Antiquarians should look at the facts of that period, ancient for the two nations named but prehistoric for ours, does not the statement of the Yucatan scholar strike in as a probable truth? Fundamental and proven facts are these, that at this period, 1550-81, England and Spain, when not in open warfare, were preying upon each other's commerce by a kind of more or less legalized piracy. Such conditions are not conducive to either brotherly love or impartial judgment between nations. We, as loyal legatees of English thoughts and feelings, naturally held to what we rightly came by, and so to us this period of early Spanish control in the Americas was, on the part of the Spanish Government, one of an overwhelming greed for gold only equalled by that of the individual Spaniards, while its lust for conquest and power was only equalled by the lust for converts and

power on the part of the Spanish priests who were accustomed to inflict unspeakable torments on the unhappy natives of the conquered provinces, and thus drive them with fear and trembling into the doors and before the altars of the most holy Catholic Church.

I have tried to put into this concrete form and few words the generally accepted belief as to the conduct of the Spanish Government in these early times of America. Some months ago, while searching the early records of Yucatan for data of an entirely different theme, I came upon certain facts so clearly proving the truth of my friend's statement that I felt impelled, almost as a duty, to try and take the matter up when the time was ripe and the opportunity at hand. This now seems to be the accepted time.

Before going into detail I must, for the better understanding of what is to follow, make clear the environments of the times and circumstances.

When the early Spaniards first sought to conquer the Peninsula of Yucatan, they found themselves opposed by a dark-skinned people who fought in a disciplined way under able leaders. They defended their country so resolutely that the Spaniards were very glad to leave them alone for a while, and seek other fields to conquer where there was less fighting and more gold. Finally, these natives were overcome by the superior weapons and constantly increasing numbers of the invaders, and by the end of the year 1542 the whole region was practically a conquered province of Spain, with Francisco de Montejo as Adalantado and Captain General. Francisco de Montejo—father, son and nephew, all Franciscos and all Montejos—thought that, having conquered the country by the might of their own mailed fists, they and theirs could do as they willed so long as the royal tithes were paid.

But this belief encountered the higher aims and humanitarian ideas of His Majesty in Spain and, persisted in, caused the valiant but somewhat obstinate and testy old warrior, Francisco de Montejo, father, sadly to meditate between bare walls and behind iron bars. Long

after the brave old Adalantado had been gathered first to Spain and then to his fathers, the belief that "the Yucatecos" were for the Spaniards prevailed, and to a certain extent held good by reason of the system of *repartimientos y encomiendas*.

This ancient system of *repartimientos y encomiendas* has been the subject of much misapprehension by modern historians and needs to be explained. When the people of the conquered provinces were apportioned out among the conquerors by the duly constituted authorities, the act was called that of the *repartimientos y encomiendas*, the distribution of the charges. This act, while sometimes allied to, was by no means an integral part of, the granting of lands by Royal Cedula for notorious services to the Crown, for while the royal grants were *ad perpetuam*, the rights given by the *repartimientos* were, to a certain extent temporal in their nature, rarely carrying over two lives or generations, and were, moreover, limited by certain wise restrictions. The natives upon these appointed lands were placed under the direct charge of the Conquistador to whom the land was apportioned, not as slaves, nor even as servants, but rather as minors under the charge of a guardian or trustee. This was the *encomienda*, the charge, and made of the Conquistador who received them an *encomendero*. The *encomendero* was to look after the general welfare of the natives confided to his care, he was to look to their interests as a father looks to the interests of his children, admonishing, correcting, teaching. For this service each native head of family was required to furnish a certain equitable tithe of the produce or the output of the region,¹ and by so doing repay the *encomendero* for his care and wise supervision. This was the law, the intent of the King, and was never lost to sight by the Council of the Indies, who had the colonies under their supervision.

Some of the *encomenderos* were in accord with the spirit and the letter of the law, but there were others

¹ Hist. do Yucatan, Molino, p. 13

whose personal equations gave other results. They were always out for business, and that business was to make as much as possible, as quickly as possible, out of the resources at their command or under their control. Among these "resources" were too often counted, the natives that were entrusted to their care and so, despite the law by which an Indian could not be made a slave, or held as a bond servant, abuses crept in, and thus the term. *Encomendero* came to be often considered as synonymous with that of slave owner or master.

On the other hand, the Spanish friars, while they retained a goodly portion of human frailties, did carry beneath the rough cassocks of their orders the true desire to serve the Indian, not only in his spiritual but temporal needs as well, and this desire sometimes intemperately expressed, though it led them at times into very uncomfortable paths, was, in the main, consistently carried out, much to the disgust of the rough and sturdy Spanish pioneers. Contrary to the general belief, the law did not allow the disciplinary methods of the Inquisition to be applied to the Indian, and when Bishop De Landa, the author of the infamous burning of the Maya records, did in his fiery zeal attempt to apply some of the methods of the Holy Office to renegade natives, he barely escaped condign punishment himself. Priestly fanaticisms and worldly interests were ever battling, and between the two the Central Government was ever standing to protect the defenceless Indian against the intemperate zeal of the one and the cupidity of the other. This for the times and the environments, now for the incidents.

Some time during the early part of 1552, I could not fix the date exactly, Thomas Lopez came to Yucatan with full power to correct abuses, and to see that the humanitarian ideas of His Majesty the King's decrees were duly enforced. Right well did he perform his task and carry out the true spirit of the law.² He purged the local laws of grave errors that had crept in by custom, establishing an equitable code of laws that should

² *Cartas de Indias*, p. 41.

govern as between the *encomenderos* and their charges. He established a system of practical self-government by the village natives in such matters as affected merely local affairs. He established a compulsory school system so efficient that at the end of the 16th century there was hardly a village in Yucatan without its public school. He strictly forbade forcible conversion or baptism either of children or adult natives. They were to be carefully and faithfully instructed, and only when they themselves and of their own volition asked for baptism was it to be given them. The prohibition of the enslaving of the natives was made expressly severe, declaring that before Jesus Christ and the law no Indian could be a slave,³ and that, while the Indian could, if he so desired, become a servant or day laborer, it must be a matter of mutual arrangement between employer and employee, by which the latter would receive his just compensation. This was the law and this was what Thomas Lopez upheld. To see that these laws affecting the status of the natives were upheld hereafter, he created a new office, that of the Defensor of the Indians, whose duties were as indicated by the title. Thomas Lopez was clearly a true and faithful servant of his King.

The decade hand moves over the dial of the century. Carlos V., the Emperor of Castile and of the Indies, and Juana the Queen, have gone and Felipe II. is on the throne of Spain. Kings and Queens have passed away, but the ideals that they upheld have remained unchanged. The date is now that of 1581, at the time when Guillen de las Casas was Governor of Yucatan, and one Pedro Gomez, the Royal Treasurer of the Province. History has dealt with Guillen de las Casas in letters so large that he who runs may read,⁴ while the Royal Treasurer has been left in comparative obscurity. And yet, Pedro Gomez, Treasurer of His Majesty, Felipe II., in the Province of Yucatan, was a man of parts, a good steward looking keenly to the welfare of the royal income from his district. This the statistics indicate and his letters

³ Hist. do Yucatan, Molino, p. 20.

⁴ Hist. do Yucatan, Molino, p. 180.

to his royal master show. The Spaniards of those days were more independent and democratic than we are usually willing to believe, and some of their letters to their King, now on record in the archives, would surprise us even in these democratic days, but the letters of Pedro Gomez, Royal Treasurer in an humble Colonial province, surpass in their blunt directness all the others.

I must explain now that which perhaps I should have stated before, that Yucatan is in great part arid, without either rivers or lakes on its limestone surface. Nature, who generally evens up things in her own quiet way, has ordained that in these modern days this arid portion of the Peninsula should be the section that gives prosperity to all the rest, for upon its rocky, sun-heated surface grows the *Agave Sisalensis*, from whose fleshy, thorn-pointed leaves is taken a fibre that gives an annual income of thirty million Mexican dollars to the people of the Peninsula. In the days of which this paper treats, the nascent possibilities of the fibre were as yet unknown. While the trials and privations of those who were trying to wrest a living and a fortune from the ungrateful soil were such that at two different times large numbers of the colonists were on the point of migrating to more fertile colonies in other regions, providential discoveries of valuable natural resources were made that aroused their hopes and made them dream of future prosperity, and thus kept them on the Peninsula. The first of these was the discovery of the dye wood, log wood, *palo de tinto*, while the second was the discovery of *anil* or *indigo*, furnishing indigo of a quality that was very much sought for in Spain and elsewhere.

The first of these discoveries was that of the log wood and the results that flowed from its discovery and exportation surpassed all expectations. Prosperity was over the land and a goodly stream of much needed gold was flowing into the royal treasury therefrom, when suddenly came the royal decree forbidding the log wood cutters and exporters to use the Indians in transporting the log wood from the swampy tracts of the cuttings to the dry lands and the store houses. "My native vassals

are men and not beasts of burden, and shall not be put to do the work of beasts," was the royal edict.

A like edict was issued shortly after the discovery and the profitable exportation of the indigo, and then it was that the sturdy Pedro Gomez wrote the letter. I regret that I cannot at this distance from the original record give the exact wording of the text. But in it the worthy Treasurer ventured to ask the King if he knew what he was doing when he sent out the decree, reminding him of the fact the Yucatan was such an arid region that life there at the best was but a constant struggle, that many had already emigrated to other and more fertile regions, and that unless they could be allowed to cultivate and export the few articles that the land could profitably produce, the chances were that the whole colony would be depleted to the great loss of His Majesty's treasury income.

In due time, and with passionless measured words, came back the royal answer, royally given:—"It having come to the knowledge of His Majesty, the King, that the making of indigo is not only contrary to the health of his native subjects by the method of its making, but also by reason of the flies and other insects that breed in the putrefactions thereof, these native subjects of mine cannot work, neither can they eat nor sleep in comfort by reason thereof. The Royal Treasury does not care to thrive upon those things that imperil the health and comfort of these, my subjects, who equal with you, Gentlemen of Spain, and are my constant care and thought. It is, therefore, hereby decreed that the working of the indigo herb, as it is now undertaken by the hand labor of my native subjects, is prohibited under the law."

Reduced to the last equation the result seems to be,—That the action and purpose of the early Spanish rule in the Americas was humane in spirit, high in ideal, and ever looking to the welfare of the defenceless natives. That such cruelties as are on record were the outcome of lawlessness and fanaticism and not the workings of the law.

ASIA AND AMERICA.

AN HISTORICAL DISQUISITION CONCERNING THE IDEAS
WHICH FORMER GEOGRAPHERS HAD ABOUT
THE GEOGRAPHICAL RELATION AND
CONNECTION OF THE OLD AND
NEW WORLD.

BY JOHANN GEORG KOHL.¹

There are only two great first-class islands on our globe: Asia (with her appendages Africa and Europe) and America.

Whether these two large parts of our terrestrial dry-land, the so-called Old and New World, were connected with each other, and in what degree and manner they were connected, or if they were perfectly separated by water, has been since the time of Columbus a matter which has been investigated by numerous navigators, explorers and geographers, and has been answered at different times very differently.

The history of the various speculations and hypotheses on this geographical point, one of the most interesting of its kind which the surface of our earth offers, goes

¹ Dr. Johann Georg Kohl, one of the most learned cartographers of his day, came to this country from Germany in 1854, bringing with him a large collection of transcripts of early American maps, both manuscript and printed, and a greater knowledge of early American geography than was possessed by any scholar of his time. With the aid of a government appropriation of \$6,000, obtained in 1856, he prepared an elaborate catalogue of American maps, the chief feature of which was a series of finely executed hand-copies of the rare originals. After the financial panic of 1857, Dr. Kohl failed to obtain a further appropriation and returned to Germany. He later became the librarian of the city library of Bremen, where he pursued his favorite studies in geography and where he died, October 28, 1878. His collection of maps long remained in the custody of the State Department, but was transferred to the Library of Congress in 1903. A full description of the collection was compiled

through the space of more than three centuries and it is not long since that we have found a perfectly satisfactory answer and that all doubts on it are removed. A thorough history of these speculations and of all the shapes and forms which they assumed, together with all the reports of discoverers and travellers who brought this question step by step nearer to its ultimate solution, would involve a great part of the whole history of the discovery of America.

It is not my intention to attempt such a complete history. I will only try to give here a series of reduced copies of the original maps, on which geographers and explorers have laid down their hypothetical views or actual experience about this question, and to illustrate these maps by historical notes. I believe that in this manner and by this new method the question may be laid before the reader and may be conveyed to his mind and eye in the most striking, compendious and instructive manner.

1. OLD MAPS BEFORE THE TIME OF COLUMBUS.

If we at first inspect the old maps of the world which were made *before* the time of Columbus, we find that

by Justin Winsor in 1886 and published as No. 19 of the Bibliographical Contributions of the library of Harvard University. This catalogue was reprinted, with the addition of useful indexes, by the Library of Congress in 1904.

The monograph herewith printed was undoubtedly written by Dr. Kohl during his stay in America, and was deposited with this Society by Prof. Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution. It aroused much interest among such scholarly members of the Society as Charles Deane, Samuel F. Haven and Justin Winsor and the hope was frequently expressed that the manuscript might be printed by the Society with facsimiles of the maps included. By some it might be considered that the publication of the treatise at this late day is inadvisable because more recent discoveries along cartographical lines have rendered the memoir less useful. But the continual inquiries received regarding the manuscript and the fact that it contains certain maps reproduced in no other way except through Dr. Kohl's drawings, seem to justify its present printing. It has not been deemed necessary to double the size of the paper with explanatory notes, and for more or less elaborate treatises on the subject of the cartographical history of the Pacific coast, the reader is referred to Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. 2, p. 431, and to H. H. Bancroft's "Northwest Coast," vol. 1. No alteration of Dr. Kohl's manuscript has been made other than to correct the spelling and punctuation, and occasionally to adapt his phraseology to the English idiom.

they all represent the mass of habitable dry-land which they pretend to know, as an *island*. On nearly all of them, whether made by Greeks, Italians, Arabians or Persians, a great water, the Ocean, surrounds the whole old Continent Europe, Africa and Asia *everywhere*. The dry-land is nowhere without end, nowhere connected with boundless unknown regions. It is everywhere confined, and only the water is without limits.



MAP No. 1

We find the same idea again in the cosmographical traditions of the Indians, who in comparing it to a lotus-flower with leaves swimming on the water, make the dry-land to be an island. This is a very curious and remarkable fact, and we may well question if the old nations could arrive at such a uniform and true view only by chance or mere speculation, or if they adopted it from actual experience. Perhaps the whole body of the Asiatic population was pervaded by old traditions and reports, which were handed down from one nation

to the other, from the inhabitants of the northern shore to those of the central and the southern parts, and which flowed from the inhabitants of the southern coasts back to those of the north, so that by the flux and reflux of these reports, about the water in every direction, a conviction of the insularity of the old world and of the existence of an everywhere circulating ocean was created throughout the whole body of the wise men of all the nations.

It appears that in a like manner among the old population of the second great island, America, a similar conviction to a certain degree has existed, with respect to their part of the world. Also the old cosmography of many Indian tribes of America, if not of all, represents the inhabited world (America) as engendered from the water and as existing in the midst of the water. Menaboshu or some other mythic creator threw the inspired sands upon the water and prepared from them the earth, which grew out under his fingers with its peninsulas and headlands over the surface of the water.

Our first explorers and pioneers did not come, either in South or in North America, to any part so distant and so central, where they did not hear the people speak of great salt-waters in all directions, and where they did not find oceanic shells or some other salt-water production, which might be considered as a proof that mutual intercourse and commerce had brought with these productions also the report of an all circulating ocean. Even the Chippeways and Sioux, who live at the headwaters of the Mississippi in a nearly equal distance from the Atlantic and Pacific in the east and west, and from the Arctic and Mexican Sea in the north and south, think that the sun rises from a great water and sinks also down in the ocean; they designate America as surrounded by water, and speak of it in their mythical traditions as an island.

From this it seems that a certain conviction of the insularity of Asia as well as of America, and of a boundless ocean, has existed among the traditions of the human

race since the most ancient times. But this old venerable traditionary view can scarcely be called a geographical conviction. It was too vague, and the authorities upon which it rested could not be produced. And because the population, the life and soul of the two great parts of the world, did not come in contact with each other, and existed isolated from each other, that view helped in no way to throw light upon the *relative* position of those two worlds, islands to each other, upon their true configuration, and upon the exact circumstances of the manner and whereabouts of their approach. The more exact geographical history of this question could not begin before the European navigation and civilization commenced to throw its chain round the whole globe.

2. TIME OF BEHAIM.

That the world was a globe had been thought and proved already by the ancient Greek philosophers. In the middle ages many doubted this theory again. Some believed that the world had the figure of a high mountain. Others made it to be a flat square or gave to it an oval shape. But many enlightened mathematicians—for instance those distinguished amongst the Arabs—adhered to the old true theory of the Greeks. The Arabians had executed even some good measurements of a degree and had tried to calculate the size and extent of the terrestrial globe, and had arrived at a result which was not very far from truth.

Towards the time where the great exploring activity of the Portuguese and Spaniards developed itself, it was by the well instructed cosmographers pretty generally admitted, that the world was a globe of not very great dimensions, and that therefore Asia must bend round this globe and must with its eastern end approach again somewhere to the western coasts of Europe and Africa. The question was only how far Asia stretched eastward and how long the distance was between it and Europe across the unknown waters.

The great authority and oracle on this point was the most celebrated traveller of the fourteenth century, Marco Polo, who had been to China and to coasts of the Eastern Ocean. He had informed the world that in this Ocean east of Asia was situated a large rich island, called Zipangu (our Japan) and besides this many hundred smaller islands. Likewise on the side of Europe the navigators and discoverers of the Canary Islands and the Azores had created a belief, that there might be still more islands towards the West, amongst which was named a certain island of the Holy Brandan and another larger island, which was called Antilia.

But of all these islands, with which from both sides the void space between Eastern Asia and Western Europe was filled, none was considered to be more worth exploring than that of Zipangu, described by Marco Polo as the residence of an Emperor, and rich in gold, silver and many other precious products.

This geography was laid down on many maps of the time immediately before Columbus. Columbus himself, his friend the Italian astronomer Toscanelli, the famous German cosmographer and traveller Behaim, constructed such maps, on which Africa was depicted after the latest Portuguese explorations, East India after the old map which was made one thousand years ago for Ptolemy, and the coast of Eastern Asia with Japan and his many hundred islands after the reports of Marco Polo. Asia was so far stretched out to the east, that its most eastern capes advanced towards Africa and Europe to about the distance of 100 degrees of longitude, and Zipangu, or Japan, remained to the west of Europe only for about a quarter of the whole circumference of the globe. The western islands of the Azores, Canaries, Antilia, St. Brandan formed as it were chains or bridges, conducting to Japan.

From all these general maps of the world, which represent the ideas of that time, not a single one has been preserved to us, except that which Martin Behaim laid down on his celebrated Globe in Nuremberg in the year

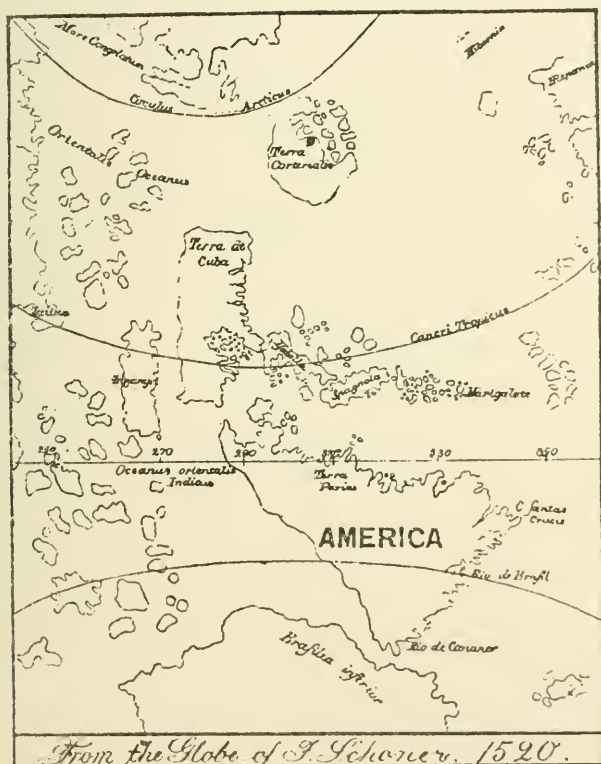
that he had been among the islands of the Indian Archipelago south of Japan and on the eastern coast of Asia.

3. SOON AFTER COLUMBUS.

When Columbus and his contemporaries had traced a great part of the northern and eastern coasts of South America, and when the small distances of these new countries from Europe and Africa became better known, subsequent cartographers could not believe that the whole continent of Asia reached so far round the world without interruption. By measuring the distances of Asia from the Mediterranean and Egypt and other known longitudes of the west, as given by Ptolemy, Marco Polo, etc., they arrived at the conviction that Columbus and his new islands must be something separate from Asia, and that they must lie still a good way in advance from Asia, particularly that great southern island, called "*Terra Sanctæ Crucis*" (the Country of the Holy Cross) that is to say our South America. The magnitude of this country, to which the first great exploring expeditions were directed, was first well understood, and was therefore also first as it were detached and separated from Asia, and first called a New World (*Novus Mundus*).

North America, to which besides the Cortereals and Cabots and Ponce de Leon not many others at once did sail, became only known in detached pieces. And these detached pieces were either believed to be separate islands or peninsulas of the north of Asia, which was prolonged towards the west much more than southern Asia. The generality of the maps, which were made and published soon after Columbus therefore show us the ocean between eastern Asia and western Europe filled with a number of large and small islands. Some of them are the old islands, mentioned by Marco Polo (*Zipangu*, etc.), others are the new ones added by Columbus and his companions, "*Isabella*" (Cuba), "*Spagnuola*" (Haiti), "*Terra de Cuba*" (North America), "*Terra Sanctæ Crucis*" (South America), etc. This latter is always by far the most extensive of all.

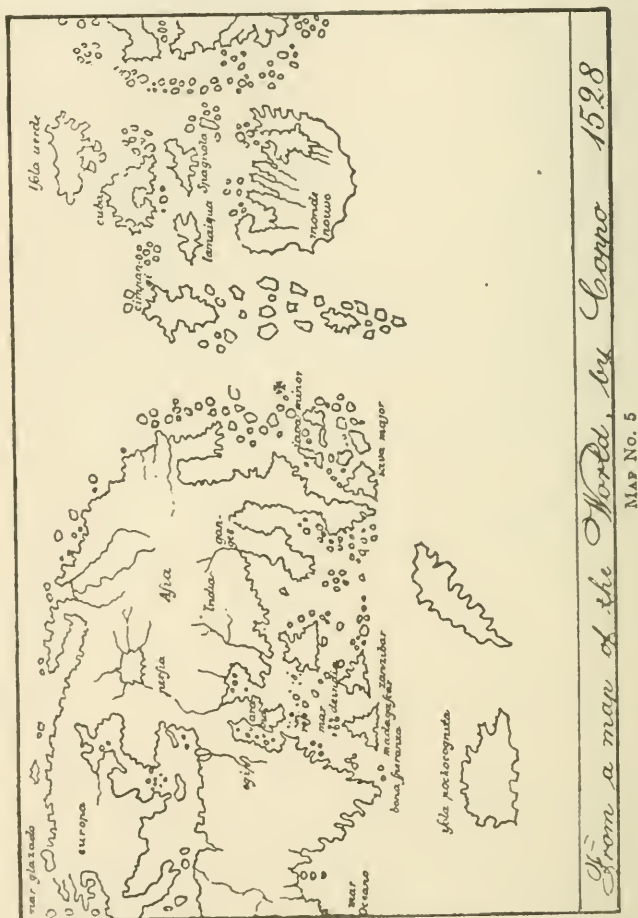
America and Asia (the Pacific) is still very small, in the south about 50 degrees of longitude and in the north not even twenty. The more Arctic countries "Terra Nova" (Newfoundland) and "Gruenlant" (Greenland) are at last perfectly melted together with Asia and appear as north-eastern peninsulas of the Old World.



MAP No. 4

The second little picture (No. 4) is a reduced copy of a map contained on the well-known globes of Joh. Schöner of the year 1520. South America appears upon it as a large island, which ends in about 50° S. L. with a pointed peninsula. The island of North America is somewhat larger than on the Ruysch map. But the ways and navigation round it to Japan and China are

still open on all sides. Zipangu is situated only a few degrees of longitude to the west of it. The Pacific between North America and Eastern Asia has a breadth of 30 degrees, or about 400 leagues. The regions of



Labrador and Canada, the Land of Cortereal (Terra Corterealis), form a large round island and the North Pole is again surrounded by an insular country.

No. 5 is a copy of a map made in the year 1528 by a Venetian geographer, Pietro Coppo. It has upon the

whole the same features as the preceding and combines in a similar manner the geography of Ptolemy for the Indian Ocean, that of Marco Polo for eastern Asia, and what we might call the geography of Columbus for the new countries. The whole of America is dissolved in islands, of which the largest is South America, called "Mundo Nuovo" (the New World). That piece of country, which represents the island of Cuba and North America, is called "Cuba." The large island, which Coppo names "Isola verde" (green island) is probably the "Cortereals Land" of Schöner's map. About 60 degrees to the west of this group of American islands appears the coast of eastern Asia and Japan, surrounded by its archipelago of numerous islands as described by Marco Polo.

4. MAPS OF SOUTH AMERICA AFTER MAGELLAN, CORTES AND PIZARRO.

The idea that South America was a great peninsula of Asia, similar to that long peninsula appendix which could be seen stretching to the south on all the ancient maps after Ptolemy, was first given up, particularly after the conquests and voyages of Magellan and Pizarro and their contemporaries, that is to say after 1533. By them the whole circumnavigation of South America was completed, and Magellan showed by what a broad ocean South America was divided from Asia. The same thing at the same time was proved by the Portuguese conquerors, who pushed their explorations to China and the Molucca-islands, and by setting the geographical longitude of these countries, showed how far these regions remained back to the west.

There are still, it is true, even after 1530 to be found some maps of South America on which some Asiatic reminiscences may be discovered. I could for instance produce some upon which we find the famous East India trading emporium Cattigara, of which Ptolemy speaks and which he calls a great trading station of the Chinese. Ptolemy had put down this "Cattigara" on the west

coast of his large southeastern peninsula of India. The modern mapmakers, who believed that Columbus had discovered this peninsula on the east side and that it was the same with his country of "Paria," put therefore that Chinese city on the coast of Chile or Peru. But these were only exceptions or a few remains of the old erroneous views. And upon the whole, there was now no more doubt that South America formed a widely separated and isolated world for itself. It was generally called "Mondo Nuovo" or "Western India" or also "America," names which were exclusively given to it and seldom applied also to North America.

After 1530 we may therefore in the disquisition which occupies us here, give up South America and its maps altogether and turn our attention exclusively to North America, of which it remained for a much longer space of time doubtful if it formed a part of Asia or not.

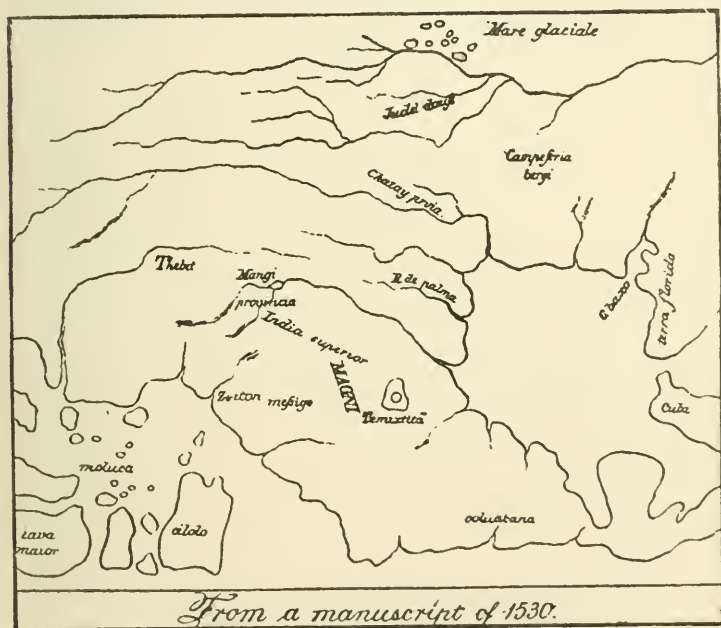
5. MAPS OF NORTH AMERICA SOON AFTER CORTES.

Cortes and his companions entered Mexico with ideas more or less similar to those with which Columbus and his contemporaries had entered the archipelago of the Antilles, that is to say, with the expectation of finding Asiatic kingdoms and nations. When Cortes set out for his discoveries on the Pacific he hoped soon to reach Japan, which he thought to be near. When his successors arrived on the shores of Upper California, or what they called Quivira, they reported to have seen richly laden *Chinese* vessels.

Many geographers after Cortes accordingly painted North America, of which only the eastern coast had become known, as connected on a broad basis with Northern Asia. They represented on their maps Mexico and other American places, as Asiatic cities, and adorned them with mosques, minarets, temples and cupolas. They gave to the Rio Colorado its heads and sources in northern Asia. They laid down the famous province "Mangi" of China as bordering on Mexico. When they heard of the wild buffaloes of the western prairies, they

thought them the herds of the Nomadic tribes of Asia, and put down on their maps in the western regions, which they called Cibola, inscriptions like the following: "Here the people live like the Tartars and raise large droves of cattle."

Nay some seem to have made advance² China and the Asiatic elements, with which their North American maps for saying so were impregnated as far as the Mississippi.



MAP NO. 6

In the British Museum is preserved a Spanish map of the year 1560, on which the portrait of a true Chinese with a blue caftan, a red painted bonnet and yellow silken stockings is posted in the centre of the Mississippi valley, and near him an elephant grazing.

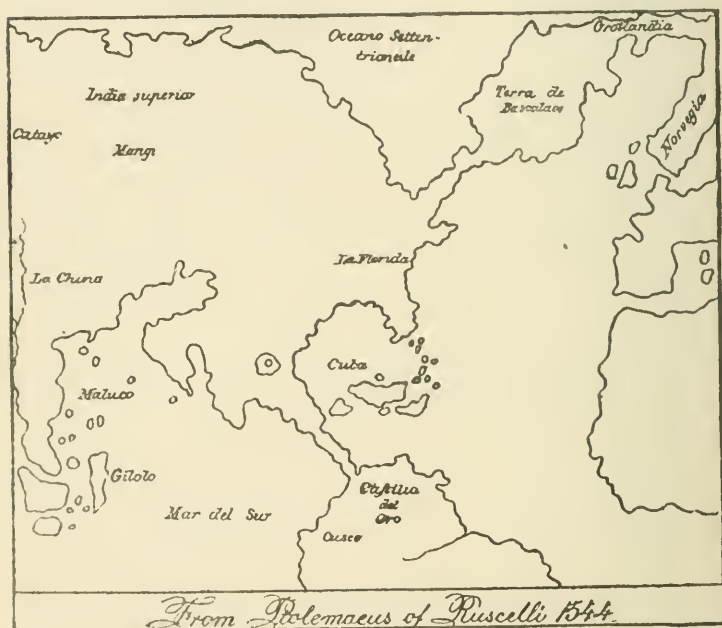
The maps of the middle of the 16th century, which have adopted this view of a connection between Asia and America on a broad scale, are very numerous. We

² The word "advance" should apparently follow "impregnated" [Ed.].

find them among the French maps as well as among the Italian, German and English. They are scattered in the editions of Ptolemaeus, in Grynæus and other books.

For the sake of illustration I have chosen among them and reproduced in small copies three of this class.

No. 6 is the oldest among them. It is probably of the year 1530, that is to say soon after Cortes' conquest of Mexico. It is contained in an old manuscript pre-



MAP NO. 7

served in the British Museum. It may illustrate in a certain manner the ideas and expectations which Cortes had, when he set out from the western coasts of Mexico for the discovery and conquest of California.

The name of the Chinese province, Mangi, is near to Temixtitlan (Mexico) and the countries towards the west of the Mexican Gulf are called "India Superior" (Upper India), China and Thibet. The rest of eastern Asia is not far distant and Gilolo, Java and the Moluccas

are a few degrees distant from the Mexican coast, which is brought down as far south as the equator.

No. 7 is of a little later date and though somewhat improved it shows features upon the whole similar to those of No. 6. It is from a map of the world, called "Carta Marina Nuova" (A new marine chart), and contained in the edition of Ptolemy of the Italian Ruscelli. Also on this map the union between North



MAP No. 8

America and Asia is on such a broad scale that both may be called one. The names Mangi, India Superior and China are placed at a distance from Mexico, which is somewhat greater than on the former map, but they are still near. The North Pacific is very narrow and has its northern end a little beyond the Tropic of Cancer while on No. 6 it was already closed south of this circle. Gilolo and the Maluccos are at no great distance from the coast of Mexico, though this has received a truer latitude.

Ruscelli had moreover the idea that North America also in the east was connected through Greenland and Scandinavia by a continental bridge or isthmus with Europe. And his map, which is in this respect unique in the history of chartography, shows the whole dry-land of the globe in one unbroken continental piece.

No. 8 is taken from a general map of America by the well-known Italian geographer Paulo de Furlani, who made it in the year 1560. Though on this map the northern Pacific is extended to the north as high as nearly 40° N. L., yet the union between North America and Asia is still on a very broad basis. Cimpaga (Japan) is at a distance of about 20 degrees longitude from California. "Quisai," the famous port of China, Tebet and other Asiatic names are still very near. The rivers of the Californian Gulf, the mouth of which had been discovered by the Spaniards twenty years before, has its sources and headwaters in the interior of Asia and flows round the whole northern Pacific.

6. MAPS OF THE MIDDLE AND END OF THE 16TH CENTURY WITH THE STRAIT OF ANIAN.

Though the views on the geographical point in question were very common in the period after Cortes, still they were not generally adopted. There were always many navigators, geographers and mapmakers, who believed in the existence of open water or a strait between America and Asia. There was a report current, which found more or less credit, that Cortereal had already in the year 1500 entered a Strait in about 60° N. L., and that he had called this strait after one of his brothers "the Strait of Anian." According to this tradition there was open water to the north of America and then in the west again a narrow channel between Asia and America, which was likewise called the "Strait of Anian." This name, of which the origin after Humboldt³ is quite

³ See his *Crit. Researches*, Germ. Edit., Berlin, 1852, 1: 477.

uncertain, was at last exclusively applied to the western strait, supposed to be between Asia and America.

Though the history of this geographical supposition reaches much higher up, still the belief in it became more or less general not before the middle of the 16th century, and the first maps on which the Strait of Anian was actually laid down are those of the Italian Geographer



MAP No. 9

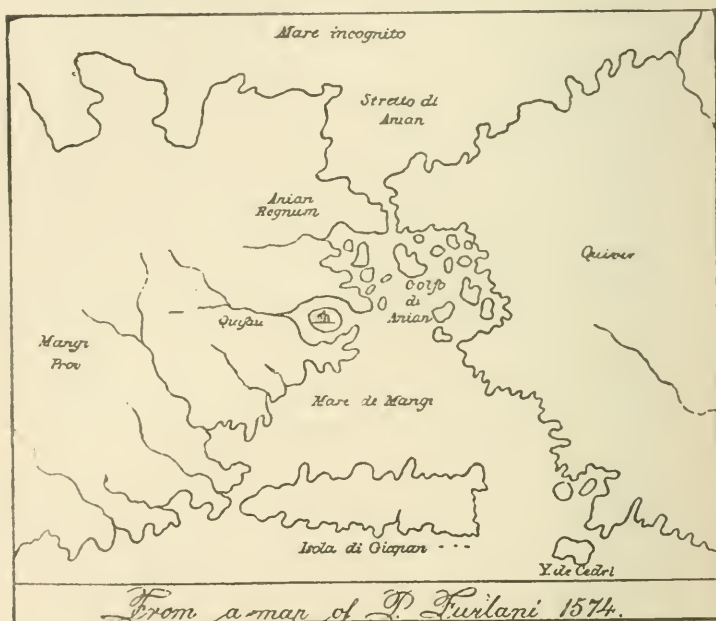
Zaltieri of the year 1566 and of the German Ortelius of the year 1570.

On innumerable maps of this time the general features of the configuration given to north-eastern Asia and north-western America are the following: Asia approaches to America with China, with Tartary with the whole broad mass of its body. And America steps forward to the west likewise with a broad mass of its body, with California and Mexico. A more or less

narrow channel, the "Strait of Anian," divides them in about the latitude of 50 degrees N. Before the southern mouth of this channel, in a pretty equal distance from Asia and America, is situated the island of Japan.

It would be impossible and useless to copy and communicate here all the maps which have adopted and reproduced this view.

I will give only the following two:

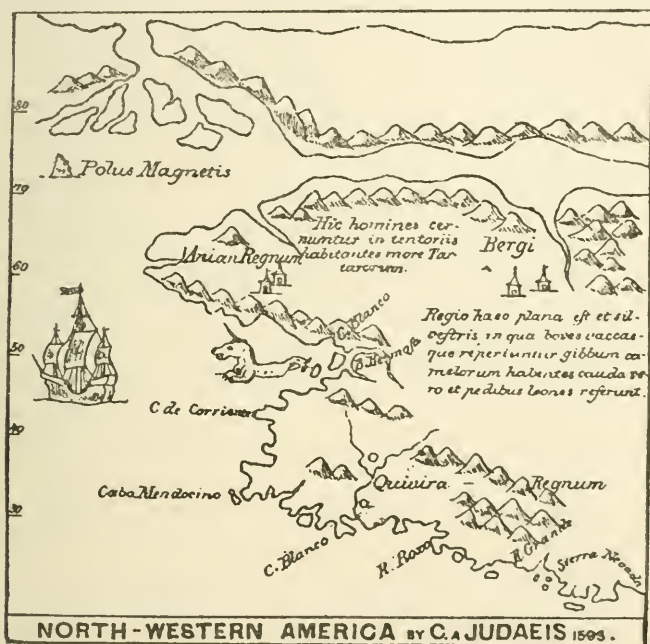


MAP No. 10

No. 9 is the oldest map of this class which I could find. It is made by Bolognino Zaltieri in the year 1566. It has unhappily no indication of longitude and latitude. But the Strait of Anian has about the latitude of Newfoundland (Baccalaos). The northern Pacific is called with the Asiatic names: "Mare di Mangi" and "Chinan Golfo."

No. 10 shows the division of the two continents in a similar way. It is a part of a map which the geographer Paulo de Furlani published, and which he is said to have

received in the year 1574 from a Spanish nobleman, Don Diego Hermano de Toledo. Though the map has not indicated the latitudes, it is evident from other circumstances that the Strait of Anian is put down in about 50° N. L. North-eastern Asia is called "Anian Regnum" (the Kingdom of Anian) and north-western America "Quivira." Though so far as we know no



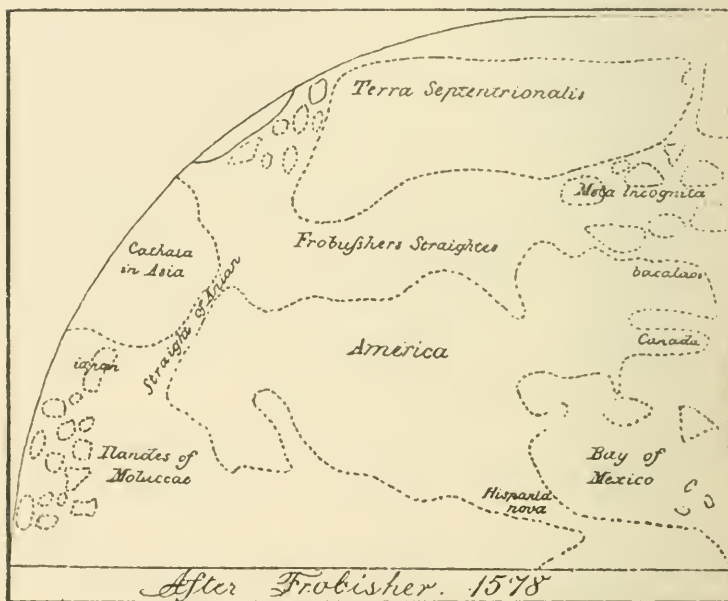
MAP No. 11

explorer at this time had yet passed Bering's Strait, still the configuration of the coasts of the two continents, the Strait of Anian, the Gulf of Anian, full of islands, as represented on our map, resemble in a striking degree the real and true configuration of Bering's waters and his islands. If it is a mere chance, it is a very curious instance how mere chance can foreshadow as it were and hit the truth.

No. 11 is a somewhat similar map of this class by Cornelius de Judæis.

No. 12 is a copy of the map on which Martin Frobisher sketched his views about this point, and on which he showed in what manner the Strait discovered and named by him might be combined with the Strait of Anian and conduct to China. This map was published in the work: "A true discourse of the late voyages of discovery for the finding of a passage to Cathay," London, 1578.

On the maps of Peter Apian, of Ortelius, of Sebastian



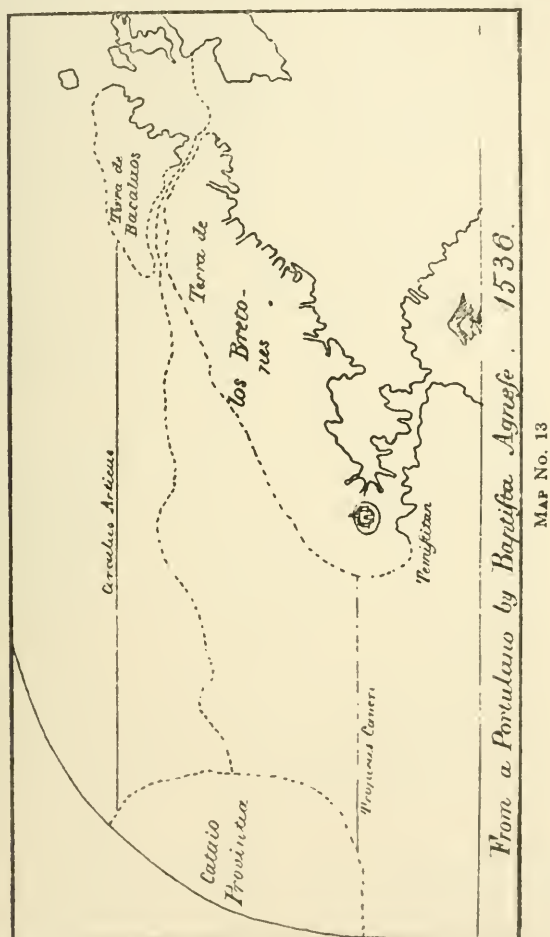
MAP No. 12

Münster, of J. Martines, of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which I will content myself to name only, we find similar views adopted, though they sometimes vary with respect to the latitude and dimensions given to the Strait, and with respect to the adopted configuration of the coast.

7. MAPS OF THE 16TH CENTURY ON WHICH THE QUESTION IS LEFT UNDECIDED.

After our above remarks, we may state that there were among the geographers two contending parties

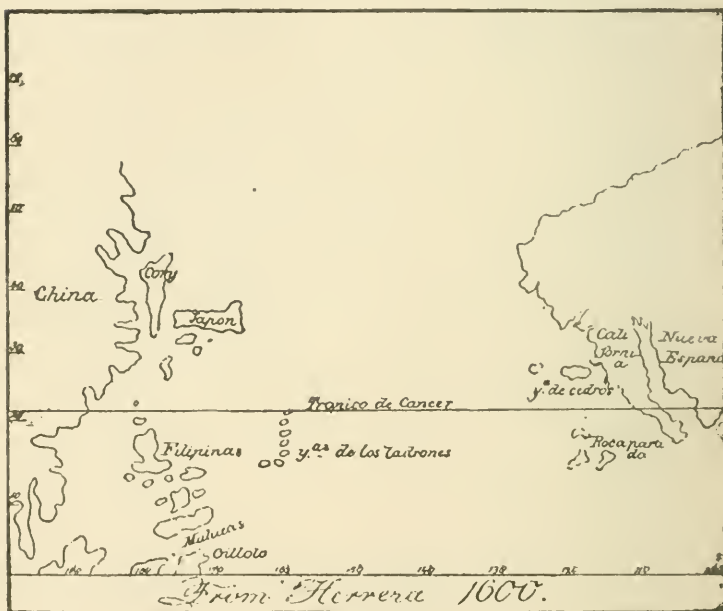
with respect to our question, one which believed in a separating strait and one which rejected the strait and believed that everything to the north of the Pacific



was barricaded by dry-land, and that this latter party may be considered to have preceded the first, but that the first pretty generally gained ground at the end of the century. We must add that there was also a neutral party, which adopted neither the one nor the other view,

which depicted on their maps the countries only as far as they were actually discovered and which laid down upon them no hypothetical straits or dry-lands. It may suffice here to give a few instances of the productions of such cautious men, which we find, of course, at all times.

No. 13 shows our regions as they are represented on a map of the Italian Baptista Agnese of the year 1536.



MAP No. 14

"Cataio," that is northern China, is limited by a dotted coast-line, which is pretty much rounded off. We dare say that this coast-line of Agnese shows the state of knowledge of the Chinese coast acquired at that time in a much truer manner than all the accurately drawn coast-lines of other map-makers with capes and names upon them, derived from Pliny and Ptolemy. The same we may say of the dotted and uncertain coast-line which Agnese gives to north-western America.

No. 14 is a reduced copy from the map of the Spanish historian Herrera, made at the end of the 16th century. At this time the Portuguese had already reached Japan and found out its true position, and Spanish as well as English navigators (Cabrillo, Drake) had already traced the coast of north-western America beyond 44° N. L. Drake and his countrymen thought that from here the coast ran back towards the east and so Herrera seems also to believe it.

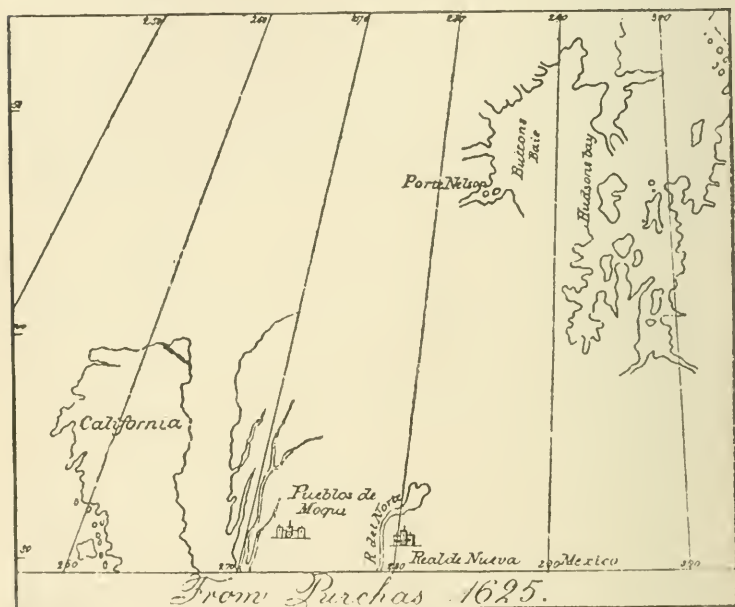
Diego Homem, a famous Portuguese geographer, has represented on his numerous maps the relative position of America and Asia in quite a similar manner as we see it here done by Agnese and Herrera. And so it has been done by Molineaux, by Michael Lok, by Oliva, by Cespedes and many others.

8. MAPS AFTER HUDSON'S TIME.

When Henry Hudson, in the year 1610, entered his Strait and the unknown waters to the west of it, he believed that he was circumnavigating America. He thought that the countries to his right hand were a part of Asia, stretching out far to the east, and when he sailed down on the western-coast of Labrador to the south, where he was caught in a Bay, he thought that he was on his best way to California to the open Pacific and China. Even after him for a long time it was hoped that Hudson's Bay might have an outlet to the west and a communication with the Pacific, which made an end to the Continent of America.

The map-makers and geographers who cherished this hope, represented, therefore, some part or inlet of Hudson's Bay, not quite satisfactorily explored, as open and as possibly leading out to the west. They conducted in the same time the north-west coast of America not higher to the north than towards the 45° N. L., to which point in the 16th century Cabrillo and Drake, and at the beginning of the 17th century Vizcayno had explored it. There they made the coast turn round to the east and represented an open space, through which as they

hoped the waters of Hudson's Bay would be found running. A map of this kind (No. 15) is that of Master Briggs, which Purchas has inserted in the third volume of his great work in the year 1625, and of a part of which our accompanying sketch gives a reduced copy. On this map we see many western inlets of Hudson's Bay as leaving still a hope for a passage, and the coasts of



MAP NO. 15

California, which end in 44° N. L., seem to be prepared to receive this passage. A design of the north-western part of America is not attempted at all, and the author of the map seems to be uncertain if there is water, or dry-land, and if these regions belong to America or Asia.

On other bolder maps, for instance on one of Canada printed in the year 1677 in Paris, the whole large broad channel, which was represented to come out from Hudson's Bay, is actually laid down, and even the route of

a vessel is traced through it and the inscription added "that in the year 1665 a vessel sailed this way round America to Japan."

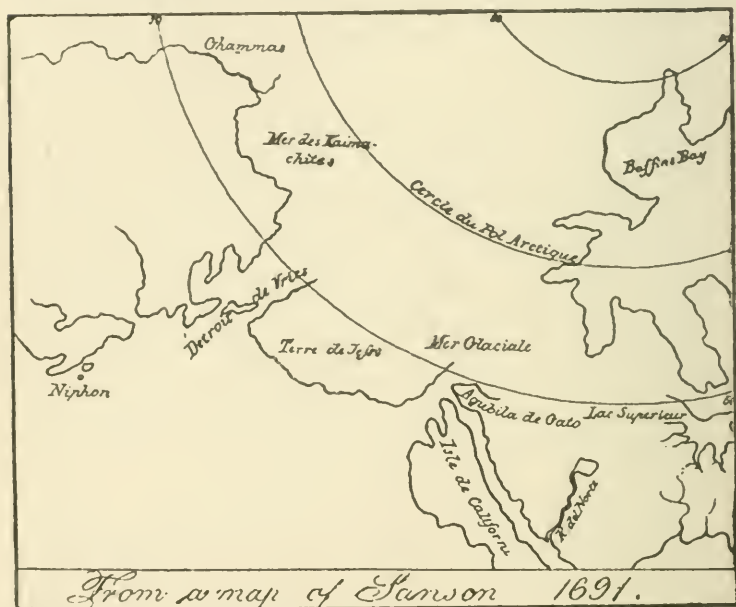
The old idea of the Strait of Anian to the north of Japan was now either totally abandoned or at least that Strait of Anian, which divided Asia and America, was now displaced and was put down immediately north of California, where it was supposed to enter the Pacific in the direction from Hudson's Bay. This supposition we find depicted on many maps of the time, especially on Dutch maps.

9. MAPS AFTER THE DUTCH EXPLORATIONS TO THE NORTH OF JAPAN.

During the same time when these hopes of an outlet from Hudson's Bay were pretty generally entertained, the Dutch had succeeded the Portuguese in China and Japan. Their predecessors, the Portuguese, had never pushed their explorations beyond Japan towards the northern Pacific. But a Dutch vessel called the *Castricom* reached in the year 1643 the island of Yesso to the north of Japan and discovered a strait between this island and the neighbouring islands, which was named the "Strait de Vries."

The island of Yesso is pretty large, but the Dutch, who sailed along its coasts and probably also along the coasts of some of the islands near to it, which they took all to be one, and the same continental land, made it still much greater than it really was. They believed it to be the beginning of a large new land, which was stretching far to the north and to the east. Because the accidental discovery of the vessel *Castricom* was not farther pursued, that island of Yesso was delivered for saying so in an unfinished state to the imagination and speculation of the geographers and map-makers and they did their best with it. They blew it up to a great continent intermediate between Asia and America and some of them filled with the so-called "*terra de Yesso*" the whole northern Pacific.

According to this view the continent of Asia ended towards the east with the Strait de Vries, which conducted between Asia and the "terra de Yesso" to the northern ocean. The continent of America ended with Upper California and the southern coast of Hudson's Bay, and was separated from the country of Yesso by the Strait of Anian, which was considered to be a branch of Hudson's Bay. All the real and supposed dry-land

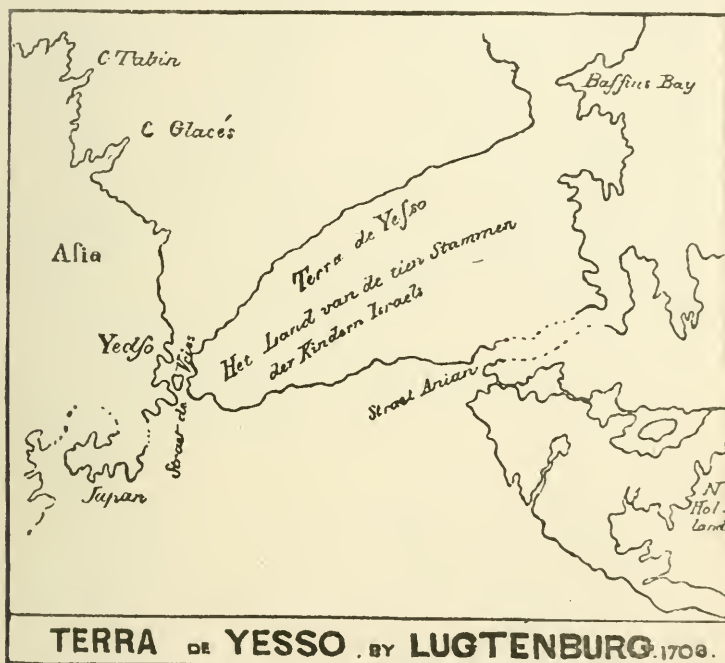


MAP No. 16

between Hudson's and Baffin's Bay and the Strait of Anian in the west and between Strait de Vries and Asia in the west was ascribed to a new created continent called "Yesso." These ideas prevailed partly through the latter half of the 17th century and they are laid down on some maps, which were more or less bold and decisive in these fanciful suppositions.

For the illustration and corroboration of these matters I will insert here reduced copies of the maps of a French and a Dutch geographer of that time.

No. 16 is a sketch after a map of Sanson, the geographer of the King of France, of the year 1691. He makes the north Pacific closed and the coast of Yesso run in about 45° N. L. He calls the northern ocean near the coasts of north-eastern Asia, to which the "Strait de Vries" conducts, "Mer des Kaimachites," which name seems to be an allusion to Kamtschatka.



MAP No. 17

No. 17 is a sketch after a map of a Dutchman named Lugtenburg of about the year 1700. He shows that curious idea about the configuration of the north Pacific regions to perfection. He makes the Strait of Anian cut right through from California to Hudson's Bay, gives to his "Terra de Yesso" well defined outlines and ascribes to it everything between Baffin's Bay and Asia. He calls it moreover "Het Land van de tien Stammen der Kinderen Israels" (The country of the ten tribes of

Israel), intimating that this was the dry-land bridge by which the American population, which he thinks to be of Jewish extraction, wandered over from Asia.

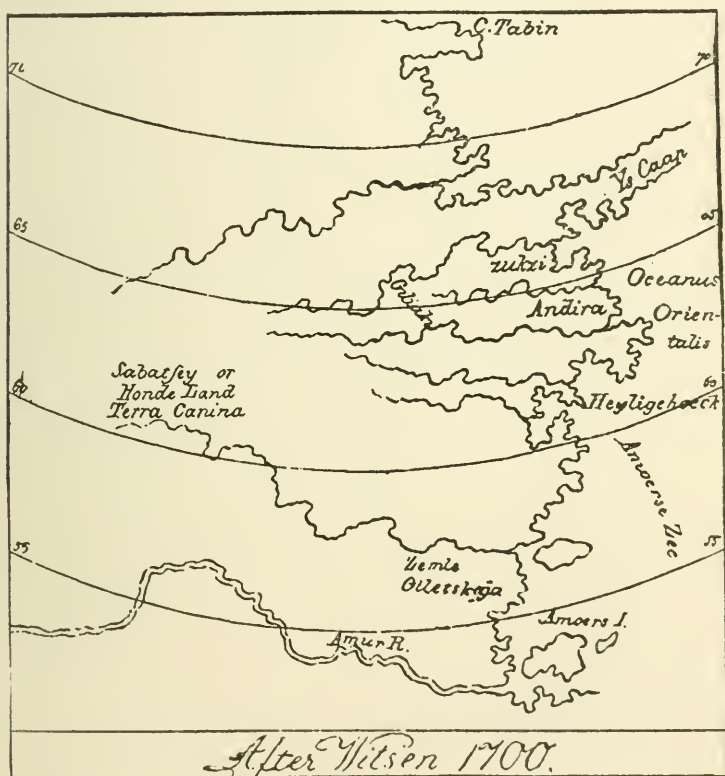
10. MAPS AFTER THE FIRST DISCOVERIES OF THE
RUSSIANS BEFORE BERING.

The European nations found so much useful occupation in the southern parts of the Pacific that the north of this broad ocean, where no kind of attraction was held out to explorers, for a long time was completely neglected. The Dutch did not advance beyond Japan and Yesso, which they had already reached in 1643. The Spaniards did not proceed beyond California, known to them for 200 years, and the English, who had been under Drake on the north-west coast already in 1578, did not make their appearance again. Everybody seemed to shun those stormy, cold, useless regions, and the world remained in total ignorance about this part of the globe until a new nation appeared on the coasts of north-eastern Asia, which gave the sign for an earnest exploring activity in these regions, and which at last conducted this long agitated geographical question to a satisfactory solution.

The Russians, or rather the Cossacks, had passed the dividing mountain ridge between Asia and Europe at the end of the 16th century and had worked their way from river to river through the whole of Siberia towards the East and North Sea. Already in the year of 1648, Deshnef, one of these enterprising Cossack adventurers, with a few companions had circumnavigated the whole north-east end of Asia from the mouth of the Lena round the country of the Tschuktschi through Bering's Strait to the coast north of Kamtschatka. But Deshnef laid not down his discoveries on a map. Because he was no well instructed geographer, he himself did not exactly know where he sailed and what he discovered. Besides this, nothing at the time became known of his voyage to the geographers of Europe. His reports remained for more than one hundred years hidden in the

archives of Siberia and his discovery was therefore of no consequence for geography.

Towards the end of the 17th century, during the victorious reign of Peter the Great, numerous bands of Cossacks arrived at many points on the borders of the eastern ocean along the Amur to the neighbourhood of

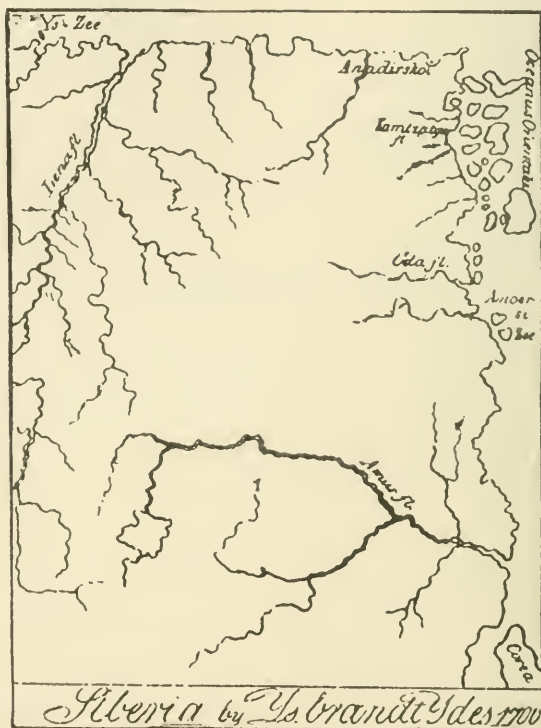


MAP No. 18

northern China and Japan, on the coasts of the Sea of Ochotsk, and to the northern parts of the Peninsula of Ochotsk. We are informed that these Cossacks sent also to their Russian authorities reports as well as maps. They must, however, have been very rude. And whatever was laid down about the North Asiatic discoveries on general maps and became known to the rest

of Europe, was still ruder, as we may learn by a look at the following two sketches, which are taken from two of the first maps made at this period of the north-eastern parts of Asia.

No. 18 is taken from the Dutch map of Tartaria by the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, Nicolas Witsen. The



MAP No. 19

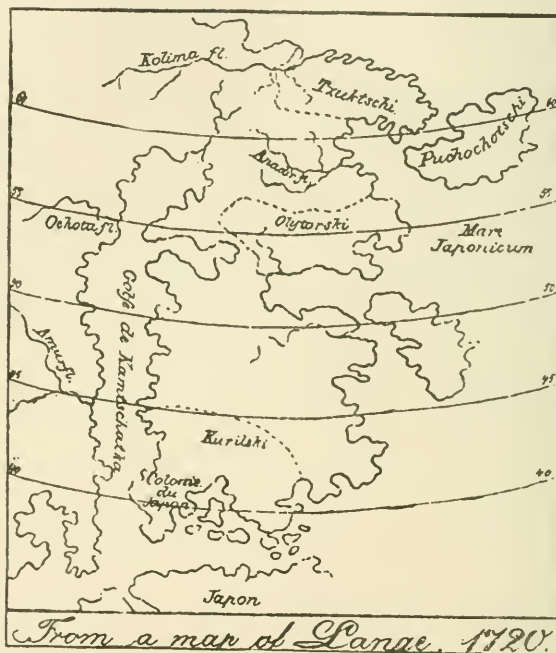
Dutch, who were at this time very good friends of Peter the Great, and the Russians could be better informed about Russia than other Europeans and Witsen's map was therefore considered to be a revelation and was copied by many French, English and German map-makers. We see upon this map the long north-eastern cape of Asia, called Ys Caap, represented as unknown in its extremity and put in 67° N. L., not far from its

true position. Of Kamtschatka appears nothing. But the name of a river called "Kantzanki River" may allude to Kamtschatka. The river Amur is rudely laid down in its true latitude of 54° N., and the sea before it including the Sea of Ochotsk is called "Amoerse Zee" (the Sea of Amur). There is no indication of a great country to the East (America).

No. 19 is taken from another map of the same time, which is dedicated to Peter the Great. On the title-page of this map, it is said that it was made after the delineations of the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, N. Witsen, but that it was corrected and improved by Everard Ysbrandt Ides. This Ides was a German who travelled about 1700 as an ambassador of Peter the Great through Siberia to China and collected much information about the north-east of Asia. The map has no indication of latitude, gives a rectangular form to the north-eastern end of the old continent, but resembles for the rest in many respects the former map. It has also no peninsula Kamtschatka, but instead of it a river Kamzatga, and south of it a group of high mountains, which may be the mountains of the peninsula. Along the north-eastern coast appear a number of islands, but no indication of the great country to the east (America).

During the first years of the 18th century the Russians had completed the conquest and exploration of this country on repeated expeditions, and more truthful and numerous maps and reports about it may have reached the seat of the Russian government. Peter the Great ordered the results of these explorations to be laid down on a new general map of Siberia. And on this map, which was copied in western Europe repeatedly and amongst others is added to the work on the travels of Lange to China in the years 1721-1722, the north-eastern end of Asia was represented in the manner in which No. 20 shows it. Kamtschatka is a large Peninsula. But as usually in the discoveries of new countries, it is represented here still much larger

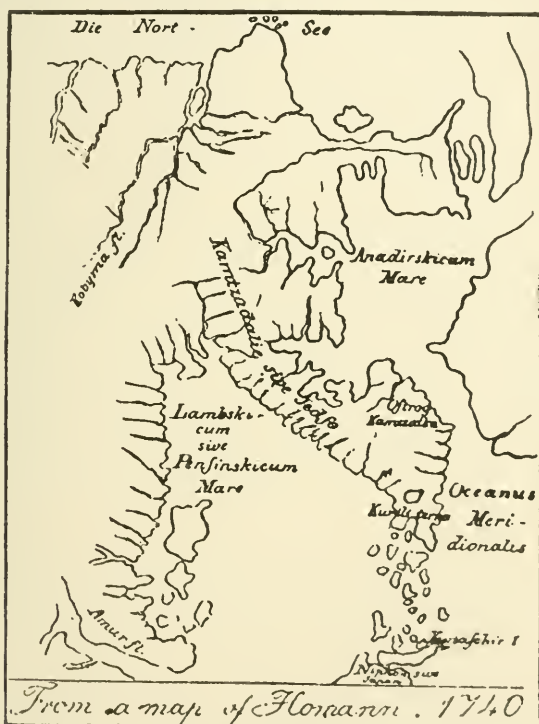
than it really is. It goes down as far south as a little beyond the 40° N. L., and its southern end approaches the island of Japan, whilst it really ends, already in 51° N. L. The Cossacks probably saw something of the Kurile islands and took a whole chain of them for a part of Kamtschatka. The name "Kurilski" is written on our map on the southern end of Kamtschatka. The sea



MAP No. 20

of Ochotsk is called the Gulf of Kamtschatka. Beyond the 60° N. L., appears something like Bering's Strait, and the most eastern end of Asia (4 degrees too far south) is called "Cape Swetoi Nos" (the Holy head). To the east of this head and strait appears a large island called "Puchochotschi," which is perhaps the first indication of the most western end of America. What we now call "Bering's Sea" is named on the map "Mare Japonicum" (the Sea of Japan).

No. 21 is a sketch after a map which was published some years later than the former and shows some progress and some new features. It was published on a large scale by the well-known German cartographers Homann in Nuremberg. The date of publication is not given. But the map must have been made before the year 1728,

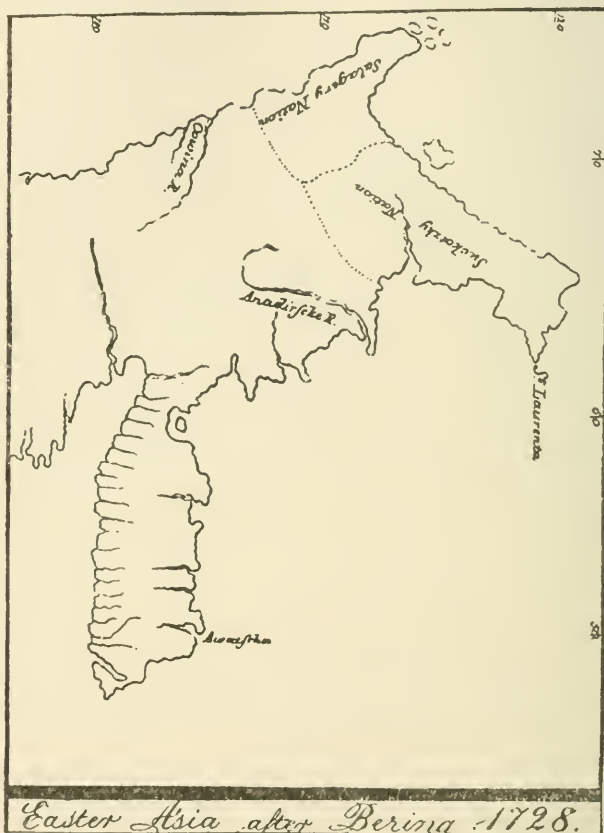


MAP No. 21

that is to say before the first voyage of discovery by Bering. At least the map has no sign that Bering's maps and reports were used. The Homanns, who were in scientific correspondence with Russia say that they made the map "after the observations of the Russian hunters, who had explored those regions on numerous expeditions by sea and by land." The map seems to have been esteemed at the time by geographers, and a reduced

copy of it is also to be found among the Japanese manuscript of Kempfer. Unhappily the map has no latitudes.

Nevertheless it is evident that Kamtschatka has received a much better configuration and position than on No. 20. It does not go down as far south as Japan



MAP No. 22

and as the mouth of the Amur, and ends in about 46° N. L., which is only 4 degrees too long. Between Nippon (Japan) and Kamtschatka appear the Kurile islands. Bering's Strait is indicated, and moreover to the east of Kamtschatka a large piece of country without name, alluding probably to the great unknown eastern countries

(America), of which the Tschuktschi and Kamtschadali may have spoken to the Cossacks.

In the year 1728-1729, Capt. Bering executed at last the first official and scientific exploration of the north-eastern end of Asia, circumnavigated with astronomical instruments the whole of Kamtschatka, penetrated into Bering's Strait, without, however, seeing the west coast of America, and brought home the first map of these regions, which was founded upon actual astronomical survey.

No. 22 is a reduced copy of this map of Bering, upon which with a few exceptions nothing is laid down but what Bering actually saw and surveyed. Upon this map Kamtschatka, for the first time, received something like its true position in longitude and latitude. Its length is shortened to about 51° N. L., which is nearly right. And whilst on the former maps (see Nos. 20 and 21) it swept much to the east and had nearly the longitude of Bering's Strait and of the most eastern end of Asia, it turns on this map much to the west and its southern end remains from Bering's Strait in a distance of about 34 degrees of western longitude, which is pretty much true.

Bering received on this his first voyage no information and knowledge of America and his map, therefore, contains also no indication of it. But we may consider that the geography of north-eastern Asia in its principal outlines was settled by him. This part of the world stood now more or less clear before the eyes of the geographers whilst the west end of America remained still enveloped in utter darkness.

11. FIRST MAPS OF THE NORTH-WEST END OF AMERICA AFTER BERING.

During the reign of the Empress Katharina of Russia a thorough and scientific exploration and survey of the whole of north-eastern Asia was concluded and executed, and corps of engineers and surveyors went out in all directions, also towards the unknown east. Two vessels

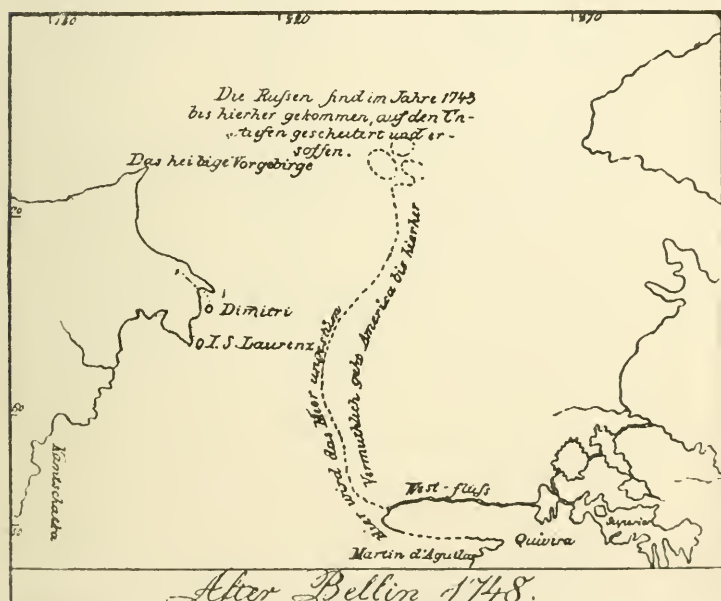
under the command of Captain Bering and Tschirikow sailed this way in the year 1741. They took their course at first very far to the south into the northern Pacific as far down as beyond 45° N. L., because they principally went out in search of a certain great country, which a Portuguese Captain Don Jozé da Gama was said to have seen there on a voyage from China to New Spain.

This country was already depicted on a map in Thevenot's great work in the year 1663, as a great tract of land between Asia and America in the latitude of northern Japan or Yesso and Upper California. It resembled in its form and situation very much the old fabulous Terra de Yesso of the Dutch navigators, as may be seen by the annexed sketch which we give of this country, as it has been depicted in the Atlas of Reiner and [Joshua] Ottens. Bering and Tschirikow could not find that this country really did not exist, and which was probably nothing but some of the Kurile islands, mistaken for a great country. They therefore steered towards the north-east and touched the coast of America on different points between 55° and 60° N. L., saw it also again repeatedly on their home voyage, and discovered different islands, upon one of which Bering himself shipwrecked and died. Some of his companions and Tschirikow returned, however, to Asia and Russia, where, however, for a long time nothing was officially published about the results of their voyage.

The rest of Europe heard only by a very general report that the Russians had made an expedition and some discoveries to the east of Siberia and Kamtschatka. Some believed that they might have been in America. Others thought that the land seen by them might be something like Terra de Yesso, a new country between America and Asia.

How very vague, uncertain and varying the opinions of European geographers were with respect to these Russian discoveries may best be shown by the inspection of some maps, which were published soon after Bering's and Tschirikow's expedition.

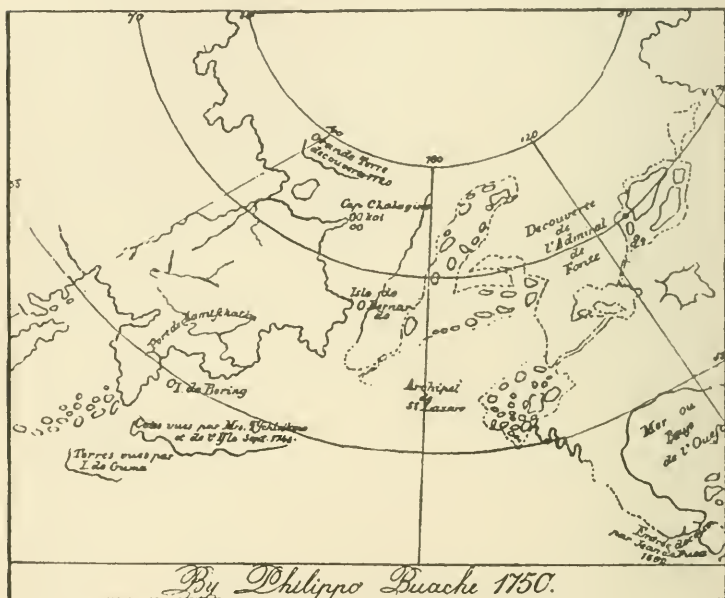
No. 23 is a reduced copy from a map published in Germany a few years after the return of Bering's people in the year 1748. Of all the Russian discoveries nothing is indicated as [but] the island where Bering perished and this island is put in about 70° N. L., that is to say about 15 degrees too high. We find written to it the following inscription: "The Russians have come so far as this in the year 1743 but they have been ship-



MAP No. 23

wrecked on the shoals and drowned." The whole rest of north-western America is indicated by a dotted line running from north to south to the Bay of Aguilar in California, with the inscription running along it: "Probably America goes as far as this." At the northern end of California the observation is added that "there the Sea begins to be very boisterous." A more laconic report on the Russian discoveries a map-maker could not make. The same map with exactly the same inscriptions was also published in France and in other countries.

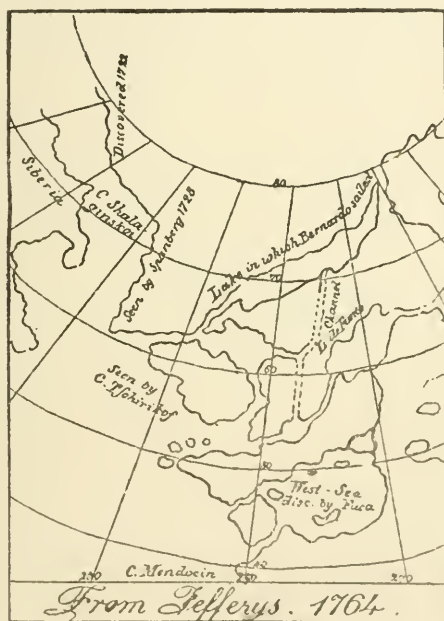
No. 24 is a copy of a map, which was made by the French geographer, Philippe Buache, as he said after the memoirs of the astronomer De L'Isle, who accompanied the expedition of Bering, and which was presented in the year 1750 to the Academy of Sciences in Paris. He tried to combine on it the fabulous discoveries of the so-called Spanish Admiral Fuente and of another Spaniard, De Fuca, which he believed were the real discover-



MAP No. 24

ies of the Russians, of which he had a very incomplete knowledge. He put down on his map all the great lakes, straits and the great "Sea of the West" (Mer ou Baye de l'Ouest), which Fuente and De Fuca were reported to have seen. He laid down in 56° N. L., a piece of the coast seen by Tschirikow, and again a long stretched coast seen by the same Tschirikow farther to the west and in 54° N. L. He adopted likewise, more to the south and west, the coast seen by J. da Gama and another country in the Arctic regions, north of Siberia, seen by

the Russians in 1723. In this way he made of the whole of north-western America a broken country or a complex of islands, curiously formed peninsulas and unfinished coast pieces. Of Bering's discoveries his map gives nothing except the little island of Bering where this explorer died. This map of Buache and De L'Isle was, however, considered to be a very good authority, which

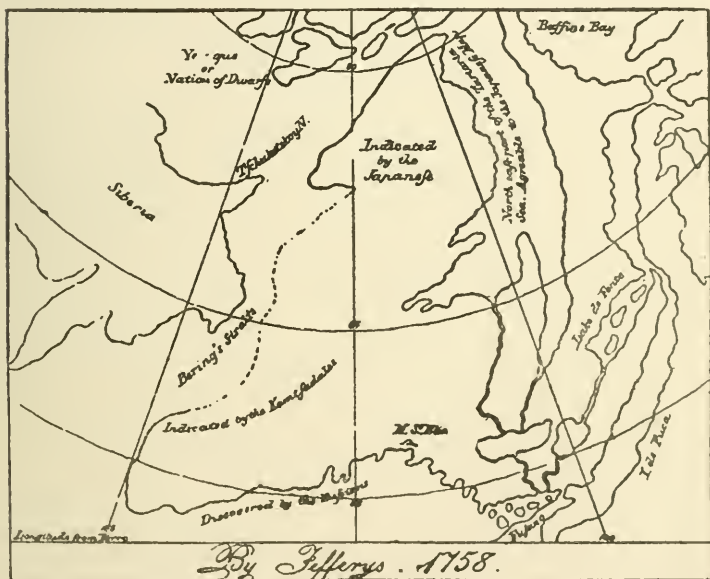


MAP No. 25

it partly was. And it was therefore copied in many countries and by different geographers, only that they added to it sometimes a little of their own.

No. 25, for instance, shows a copy of the map of Buache and De L'Isle by the English geographer, Jefferys. He adopts on it everything. But he thinks that the country seen by the Russians in 1723 to the north of Siberia is nothing but a prolongation of the countries seen by them to the east of Kamtschatka, that is to say of America, and he therefore gives to north-western

This map of the Russian Academy was now of course as the most reliable information adopted and copied by all geographers of Europe. It left, however, still open a large field of speculation and this open field was filled out by them with many speculations, which they tried to introduce into this map. Besides the old traditions of the North American discoveries of the Admiral De Fuente, to which some still adhered, other reports



MAP No. 27

about certain discoveries, made in north-western America by the Chinese and Japanese, gained credit at this time. De Guignes in his great work on China had pronounced that the Chinese knew north-west America under the name of "Fusany" or "the country of the rising sun." Kempfer had brought to Europe certain Japanese maps, on which were figured countries to the north-east of Japan. Some thought that by these countries was meant the north-western part of America.

No. 27 shows how a map-maker, who believed in all these discoveries, tried to combine on a map the real

discoveries of the Russians with the supposed knowledge of the Chinese, Japanese and De Fuente. He copies on it first the map of the Russian Academy. But there into the interior and the unknown North he puts down countries and bays taken from Kempfer's Japanese map. In the south he has the country "Fusany" of the Chinese, mentioned by De Guignes, and besides this the lakes of De Fuente.

12. MAPS OF THE RUSSIAN FUR-HUNTERS BETWEEN BERING AND COOK.

It was a long time after Bering (1743) before an important official and scientific expedition was made again from Siberia towards the east. But Bering had opened a field for private speculation. His companions had brought with them from the eastern countries rich shares of most precious furs, which were sold at high prices. And this circumstance induced many Russian privateers and speculators to fit out in Kamtschatka and Ochotsk small vessels and to sail to the east for the exploration of the seats of these fur animals. These privateers rediscovered at first Bering's Island, and having exhausted this, then reached the chain of the Aleutian islands one after the other. They reported that what the Academists on their map of 1758 had represented as continental land were all islands. They also sometimes brought home a map, which they tried to construct of these islands. But for want of astronomical instruments they could not well define their position.

This kind of trade became by degrees important and the Russian government at last decided again on some scientific and official expeditions towards the east, to assist their subjects in their navigation by defining the position of the new islands and by taking possession of them. Between the years 1764-1769 two such official expeditions were made, one commanded by Lieutenant Synd and the other by Lieutenants Krenitzin and Levascheff.

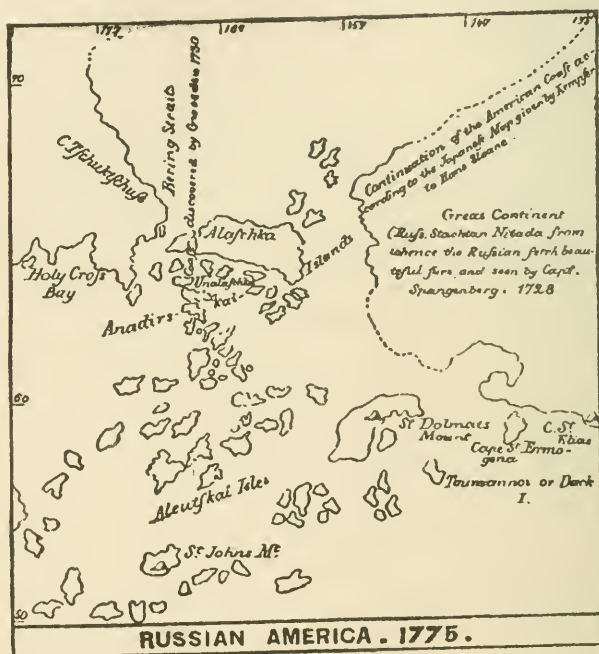
Synd followed (from 1764-1768) the first route of Bering (in 1728), sailed along the east coast of Kamtschatka and the country of Tschuktschi of Bering's Strait and recognized there also the most western point of America, which Bering had not seen, which had been, however, already visited by a Russian of the name of Gvozdec in the year 1730.

Krenitzin and Levascheff (1768-1769) visited the Aleutian islands as far as the western point of the peninsula of Alaska. Both brought home maps of their discovery which remained, however, hidden in Russia and became only known at a much later period.

The European geographers received of all these Russian discoveries only very confused reports. They seem to have heard only that the great large peninsula, painted on the map of the Russian Academy of 1758 was now recognized to be all islands, to which different names were given. It seems now to have become a passion to see islands everywhere. Not only the whole space of water between America and Asia was filled with islands where none existed, but also the long peninsula of Alaschka was considered to consist of islands, and also the great western spit of land, with which America [. . .] toward Bering's Strait, was supposed to be an island. The great continental land of America was therefore placed far back to the east behind this great new archipelago.

No. 28 shows how these things were figured at the time. It is a copy of a map by the English geographer, Jefferys, of the year 1775. Jefferys made this map principally after another map, composed by a Mr. Staehlin, who was considered to be a good authority and whose work lay at the bottom of all the similar maps of that period which were published in Germany, Holland, France and other countries. We see on this map the terra firma of America in the latitude of Bering's Strait at a distance of 20 degrees of longitude from the eastern cape of Asia. It is called the Great Country of "Stachtan Nitada," a curious name, which is probably

of Aleutian origin and which was adopted at the time on all maps. The western broad spit of land is made to be an island and called "Alaschka." Also "Unalashka," which was discovered by Krenitzin and Levascheff is transferred to this region and with them many other islands, which are named with an Asiatic name: "Anadirskaï islands" (the islands of Anadir), as if they be-

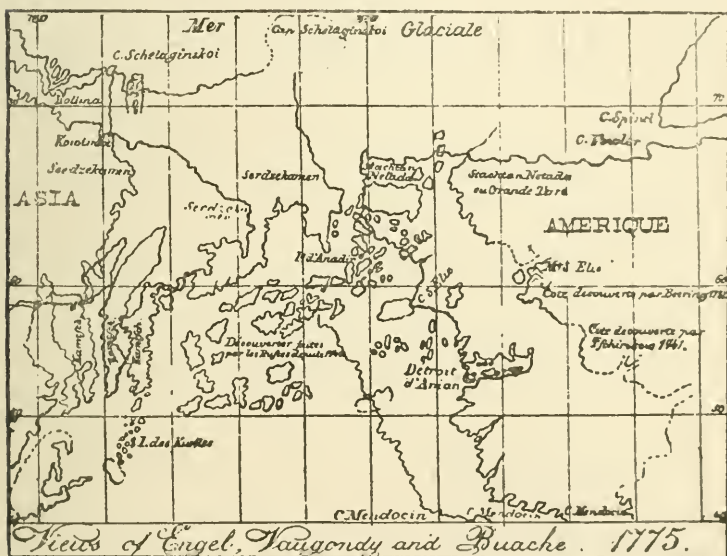


MAP No. 28

longed to Asia. To the south of them is laid down another group of islands called "Aleutskai islands" (the islands of the Aleuti). Their arrangement resembles very little the order in which this chain of islands is put in reality. From Mount S. Elias to the north-west, north and round to the east is open water and navigation.

It was on maps like these that the plans for Cook's great expedition to these regions were based. But to throw still more light on the great merits of this dis-

coverer, we will reproduce and insert here a map of comparison, No. 29, which was composed and compiled by the French geographer, J. N. Buache a few years before Cook. He tried to show on this map how different the opinions of geographers were about the configuration and position of the northern extremity of the two continents. He combined on it the delineations of three distinguished geographers: Engel, Vaugondy



MAP No. 29

and of himself. The red lines on the map represent the ideas of Engel, the yellow those of Vaugondy and the blue those of Buache.

[The present reproduction does not give the variations in color, as noted in Kohl's drawing.]

We learn by it that their positions deviated sometimes about 20 degrees of longitude and also in some parts considerably in latitude.

13. MAPS AFTER COOK.

That there could not be any large channel or bay between Hudson's Bay, or some other north-eastern

bay of America, and the Pacific Ocean, as had often been supposed, was principally proved by the travel of Hearne in the year 1771. He went by land round the whole of the western coast of Hudson's Bay, cut right through the large body of the American continent, found everywhere fresh-water lakes and rivers and reached the salt-water, or the Arctic Ocean, only beyond 70° N. L.

Soon after him other travellers of the north-west and Hudson's Bay companies advanced far into the interior to the north-west and found here likewise an everywhere connected mass of terra firma, not otherwise interrupted but by lakes and rivers, and not separated by such fanciful bays and channels as had been drawn on the maps after the so-called De Fuente or after the geographical views of the Japanese.

The idea that the American continent ended already at a very low latitude, and that that piece of land which the Russians had discovered was something separate between Asia and America, was therefore more and more given up. Also the explorers, whom the Spanish government had sent out after 1774 along the north-west coast and who advanced as far as about the region where Bering and Tschirikow had been before, had found firm land everywhere when they touched the coast and no signs of broad channels and waters.

When, therefore, Cook in the year 1777 sailed to these regions with the intention of trying a circumnavigation of the whole of northern America and of returning by the north and north-east through Baffin's Bay, neither his instructions nor he himself paid much attention to the coast east of Mount Elias, expecting that it would be all terra firma and not hoping that he could effectuate his passage to the north there. But to the west of Mount St. Elias, where as I have shown nearly all the former maps had shown America to be dissolved in islands, he held a sharp look-out, entered every inlet and bay, thinking that he might find something like a passage. He was, however, baffled in his expectations.

Every large inlet was found to be nothing but a sound, one of which he called "Prince Williams's Sound," and another Cook's River.

On his progress to the west the continental coast threw him even back much to the south and he could not push to the north into open water before he had reached the western end of what he called the peninsula of Alaska. He sailed along this peninsula on both sides, discovered [and] entered Bristol Bay and Northon Sound and passed Bering's Strait into the Arctic Ocean. He circumnavigated the most western end of America, which he called C. Pr. of Wales, found the northern coast of America turning to the north-east, but was stopped in his progress by an unpassable barrier of ice in about 70° N. L., where he called the last head-land seen by him Icy Cape. He sailed along this barrier of ice towards the west, touched the coast of northern Asia in the same latitude, where he called the last head-land seen by him Cape North, traced this coast backward towards Bering's Strait, and returned to the south through the chain of the Aleutian islands.

No. 30 is a reduced copy of the map on which the discoveries of Cook were laid down and which was published soon after his death and after the return of his officers. We see upon it, for the first time, the north-western end of America given its true proportions and configurations at least in its principal features. The parts of the coast which Cook could not approach and ascertain are marked with dotted lines. He did not recognize the figure of the large island of Kadiak and he did not survey the interesting part of the coast between Bristol and Norton Bay, which he could not approach because the water was too shoal, and where in later times were discovered the deltas of some large rivers. Cook traced the principal features of its configuration in an undoubted and scientific manner and put them down on the map in their true latitude and longitude. All the erroneous suppositions of a "terra de Yesso," or some other separate continent between Asia and America, of great inland

channels cutting through the whole continent of America, of a great archipelago, full of islands between Asia and America, vanished before Cook's delineation.

There remained still after him it is true much detail work to be done, many special questions to be answered. The length of the many inlets were still to be explored, many islands were to be circumnavigated, the question

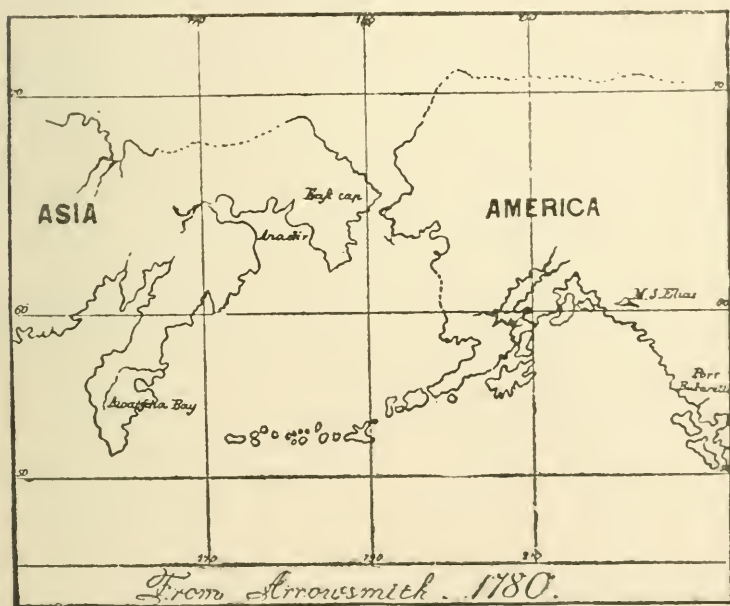


MAP No. 30

whether on the north-west coast there was such a large "Bay of the West" as De Fuca was said to have discovered, was still open and remained long after Cook still a subject of discussion and research. But the great and rough work was done by Cook, and all his Spanish, French and English successors may be considered as progressing and building on the fundamentals given by him. We may say that Cook did in this manner in the year 1778 the same thing for the west end of America that Bering had done in the year 1728 for the east end

of Asia. And it was, therefore, also very just and fair that the dividing strait between the two great islands of our globe was called as well after the Asiatic as the American explorer: "Cook's and Bering's Strait."

Cook's map was of course at once adopted by all the geographers of the time, who inserted after it into their general maps and remodelled according to it the map of North America and northern Asia. On these maps were also sometimes drawn the northern shores of North



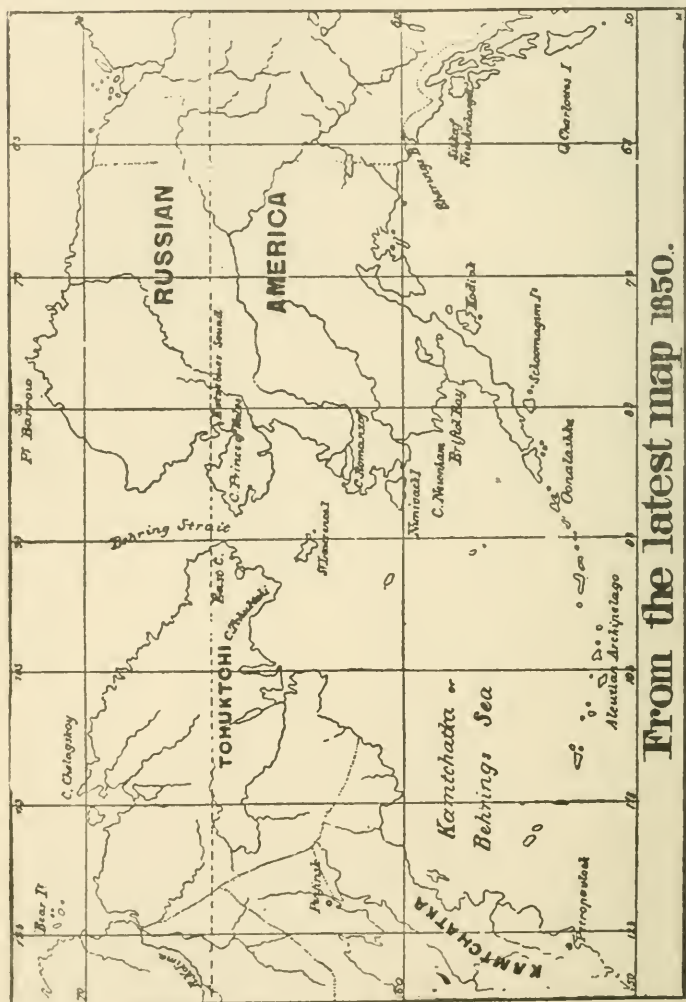
MAP No. 31

America by connecting through a hypothetical line the most northern coast-points reached by Cook and Hearne.

No. 31 shows how this was done by the English geographer, Arrowsmith. It is a reduced copy of a map of north-eastern Asia and north-western America, which this geographer published soon after Cook and on which he combined the discoveries of Cook and Bering and other Russian navigators. Similar maps were published, some time after Cook, in Petersburg and elsewhere.

14. TIME AFTER COOK.

After the time of Cook no more principal and essential changes were made in the map of north-eastern Asia



and north-western America, and thence we may come down at once to the latest and most modern map of these regions which has filled out the gaps left by Cook,

and gives the most perfect and complete view of the question. We therefore conclude here our series of pictures with a small reduced picture of our regions, No. 32, as they are figured on our present maps and which we subjoin for the sake of comparison.

To explain this picture the following short notes on the further history of north-west America will suffice. Soon after Cook, a general interest in the north-west American coast arose. Cook had discovered here, like Bering in the regions nearer to Asia, that rare and precious fur-animal, the sea-otter, and as after Bering, so also after Cook, the trade and hunt after the fur of this animal excited further explorations. Meares, Dixon, Portlock and many other English captains sailed along this coast, made new discoveries and constructed new maps of it. Also the French, who wished to partake in it, sent along the northwest coast their excellent La Pérouse, who made there many new observations. Even some American Captains, Gray, Irving, and others, came out to the coast and helped in this work in the hope of gain. The Spaniards, who feared in this struggle of other nations to lose their old claims and pretensions to that whole part of the New World, until then so much neglected by them, sent also out a whole series of scientific expeditions under Bodega y Quadra, Malaspina and others, who explored likewise the coast as far north and west as the Aleutian islands.

At last in the years 1792-1794, came the great Vancouver, who from California to the peninsula of Alaska exploring every sound, strait and inlet, and circumnavigating every island, set all the geographical questions of this coast at rest, and gave upon his maps the most perfect picture of it.

During the same time, 1793-1794, a land-traveller, Alexander Mackenzie, made a similar cut through the whole of the north-western American continent, as Hearne had done it twenty years before him. Partly by actual walking over dry-land, partly by a canoe navigation in rivers, in two different directions, one to

the north towards the Arctic Sea, and one to the west towards the Pacific Ocean, he proved that everything was here continental. But Hearne had proved this only for the region near Hudson's Bay. Mackenzie proved it in a like manner for the neighborhood of the Pacific. Twenty degrees of longitude to the west from the *Nec plus ultra* of Hearne he gained and fixed another point of the Arctic coast of America, like Hearne and like Cook not far from the 70° N. L. The conjectural line by which the geographers united these three given points, and with which they traced the probable configuration of this part of the great American peninsula of the north-west, became now nearly certain.

There still remained, however, for some time one essential point of doubt. Between the *Nec plus ultra* of Cook (Icy Cape) and that of Mackenzie (the mouth of Mackenzie River) was a large tract of unknown coast. The continent of America might in this place as well send out a large spit of land to the north or west, as run directly east and west, as was generally adopted. On the other side there was one equally uncertain point on the Arctic coast of Asia. A long peninsula, called by the Russians "*Swatoi Nos*" (the Holy Head), projects from this coast not far north-west from Bering's Strait and reaches far into the Arctic waters. It was represented nearly on all the maps with dotted lines as something unknown. Though the Cossacks pretended to have circumnavigated it already in the year 1648 under their chief, *Deshnef*, of whom we have spoken above, still this circumnavigation could for nearly two hundred years never be effected again. And geographers commenced, therefore, to question this circumnavigation of the Holy Cape by *Deshnef* and made it likely that instead of navigating there he had drawn his boats over a portage of dry-land and had not seen the end of the country.

Cook, as we said, had also approached this peninsula from the east, but was hindered there in his progress by a barrier of ice, which seemed to unite the Holy Cape in

Asia with the Icy Cape in America. Cook found along this icy barrier not very deep water. Could this barrier of ice, which also after Cook was seen again in the same position by other navigators, not perhaps lie upon a bank? Was it not perhaps even the ice-bound shore of a great land of a continental bridge between Holy and Icy Cape? The possibility of this union was admitted still by geographers as late as the year 1820, among others, for instance, by Captain Burney, the able historian of north-western explorations. He tries to prove that the water north of Bering's Strait may be nothing but a shore-bound bay and that the two great islands of our globe may be still linked together in the indicated region by a bridge of dry-land.

This supposition was discovered only in our times by the combined efforts of the navigator Beechey, who progressed beyond Cook's Icy Cape towards the east, and of Franklin, Richardson, Parry, Rae and other land and sea-travellers, who wandered or sailed in boats along the whole Arctic coasts of North America, and who, by uniting the *Nec plus ultra* of Hearne, Mackenzie, Cook and Beechey, carved out its true figures and showed that the American continent really ended, as it had been supposed for some time, in a long, more or less straight line from east to west near about 70° N. L. Only after those travellers, that is to say after about 1830, it was quite doubtless that America could in no way whatever be continentally connected with Asia, though there might be between them still many great Arctic islands, the history of which does not, however, enter into our subject.

The Russians also were during the course of the first half of this century very active in exploring as well their north-west American as their north-east Asiatic possessions and in improving the map of them. They (under Kotzebue, 1816) discovered a great bay to the north-east of Bering's Strait (Kotzebue Sound). They reconnoitred and defined the shoal piece of coast between Norton and Bristol Bay, which Cook could not

approach, and traced there (under Zagoskin and others) the course of two large rivers: the Kwikhpak and Kuskoquim. They (under Schelikof) showed Kadiak to be an island, and they made (under Wrangell, Tebenkof and other officers) many special surveys of bays, harbors, straits and islands belonging to them. They also (under Anson, Wrangell and others) explored again the Arctic coast of Asia and published a most accurate survey and map of Kamtschatka. But we can dispense with tracing here step by step the progress of all these interesting expeditions because they contributed nothing more to the decision of our main question, the relative geographical position of north-eastern Asia and north-western America, which was, as we said, ultimately decided by Beechey and Franklin.

INDEX.

A.

- Adams, Charles Francis, on the Shays Rebellion, 57; Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, re-elected, 133; Committee to publish Mather Diaries, 141.
- Adams, James, printer, 29, 33.
- Adams, Samuel, 73.
- Agnese, Baptista, 306.
- Akka-pana, 222, 228, 231, 244-247; etymology of, 221.
- "Alaschka" (Alaska), 328.
- Alcebaza, Diego de, 255.
- Alden, Ebenezer, Fund, 157.
- "Aleutskai islands (Islands of the Aleuti), 328.
- Almanacs, interleaved, by I. Math-
er, 142; additions, 166.
- America, "Asia and America. His-
torical Disquisition Concerning
the Ideas which Former Geogra-
phers had about the Geographical
Relation and Connection of the
Old and New World." By J. G.
Kohl. With 32 maps, 284-338.
- American Antiquarian Society,
meeting in building of the Massa-
chusetts Historical Society, 1,
and first regular meeting at Hall
of new building, 131; completion
of new building, 2, and descrip-
tion, 7, 8, 138, 139, 162, 163; ac-
count of, 1813, by I. Thomas, 2,
3; guests of Boston members at
lunch, 5; former buildings, 8, 9;
private library given by I. Thom-
as, 8, and erects building, 8, 9;
great value of collections, 132,
and need of endowment, 132,
133; gift of photographic repro-
ductions of Chiehn-Itza, 136,
137; guests of President Lincoln
at lunch, 137; publication of
Mather Diaries, 140-143; publi-
cations, 144, 145, 172; depository
for Library of Congress cards,
170, 171; exhibition of early
Bibles, 173, 174; transfer of relics,
175, 176; newspaper bibliography
suggested, 268, 269.
- American history, new bibliography
of, suggested, 268.
- American Magazine, 21.
- American Minerva, 35.
- American Philosophical Society,
26*n*.
- American Preacher, 32.
- American Revolution, importance
of a bibliography of, 273, 274.
- American statute law, bibliography
of, suggested, 270.
- American travel, bibliography of,
suggested, 270, 271.
- American Year Book Corporation,
Society represented by President
Lincoln, 6.
- "Amoerse Zee," (Sea of Amur), 315.
- "Anadirskai islands" (Islands of
Anadir), 328.
- "Anian Regnum" (north-eastern
Asia), 303.
- Anne, *Queen*, restrains printing in
New Jersey, 15.
- Anson, *Lord George*, 338.
- Apian, Peter, 304.
- Argus*, brig, 108, 109, 112, 114, 115,
120, 121.
- Argus*; and *New Jersey Centinel*,
47.
- Arnett, Isaac, 35.
- Arnett, Shelly, printer, 31, 32; ca-
reer, 34-36.
- Arnett's *New Jersey Federalist*, 34.
- Arrowsmith, Aaron, 333.
- Asia, "Asia and America. Historical
Disquisition Concerning the Ideas
which Former Geographers had
about the Geographical Relation
and Connection of the Old and
New World." By J. G. Kohl.
With 32 maps, 284-338.
- Aymarás, 224, 231, 233; pottery of,
219; appearance, 234; clans, 235,

- 236, 237, 262, 263; dances, 237-239, 263, 264; superstitions, 240-242.
- B.
- Bacon, Francis, on witchcraft, 209, 210, 214.
- Bacon, Francis H., 164.
- Balch, Thomas W., elected a member, 4; gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
- Ball, Sir Alexander, 108, 119.
- Bancroft, Aaron, Sermon, 1836, 65*n*.
- Bancroft, Richard, Abp. of Canterbury, 205.
- Bandelier, Adolph F., Ruins at Tiahuanaco, 134, 218-265; appreciation of his work, 134.
- Barron, Com. Samuel, 109, 110.
- Barter, compelled, 52, 65, 66.
- Bashaw, Hamet, 108-116, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128.
- Bashaw, Yusuf or Joseph Caramalli, 112.
- Bassett, John Spencer, elected a member, 4.
- Bates, Albert C., teller, 4.
- Baxter, James Phinney, member of the Council, 133.
- Becchey, Frederick William, 337, 338.
- Beer, William, gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
- Behaim, Martin, 288, 289, 292.
- Belcher, Gov. Jonathan, 71.
- Bellomont, Catharine C., *Countess of*, 70.
- Bellomont, Richard C., *Earl of*, 70.
- Bentley, William, Diary of, Vol. 3, published, 172; references to Mather library and portraits, 172, 173.
- Bering, Vitus, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 327, 330, 332, 333, 335.
- Bertonio, P. Ludovico, "Arte de la Lengua Aymará," 234, 262.
- Betánzas, Juan de, 253.
- Bible, New Jersey imprints, 29, 32, 35, 43; exhibition of early, 173, 174; authority of, 198.
- Bibliography, "Some Bibliographical Desiderata in American History," by William MacDonald, 136, 266-276.
- Black, William, printer, 37.
- Blake, George S., 106.
- Blauvelt, Abraham, printer, 34, 36.
- Bodega y Quadra, Juan Francisco, 335.
- Bodleian Library, 84.
- Bolivia, ruins at Tiahuanaco, 218-265; Indian clans, 235.
- Bookbinding Fund, 157.
- Boston Athenaeum, 23.
- Boston Daily Advertiser, 147.
- Boston News Letter, 74.
- Boston Public Library, 75.
- Boturini Benaduci, Lorenzo, 83*n*, 99.
- Bowditch, Charles P., 97, 99; gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
- Boyden, W. Thane, certificate as Accountant, 160.
- Bradford, Andrew, printer, 15.
- Bradford, William [1], printer, 15-19.
- Bradford, William [2], printer, 20.
- Bridgeton, N. J., 44; press, 47.
- Briggs, Henry, 308.
- Briggs, Samuel, 110, 116, 126, 127, 128.
- Brigham, Clarence S., 140, Recording Secretary *pro tempore*, elected, 2; committee to report eligible members, 6; "Royal Proclamations relating to America," 6; description of new building in Worcester Magazine, 7, 8, 172; and in his Report, 162-165; committee to publish Mather Diaries, 141; Librarian's Report, 132, 161-176; with list of donors, 177-184.
- Brinton, Daniel G., 90, 97, 99.
- British Museum catalogue, 175.
- Bronze at Tiahuanaco, 219, 228.
- Brown University, 270.
- Bruce, Addington, 209.
- Brunswick Gazette, and Weekly Monitor, 34.
- Bryce, James, Society's new building suggests buildings of Ravenna, 135; visit to Tiahuanaco, 135; on witchcraft, 136.
- Buache, Jean Nicolas, 329.
- Buache, Philippe, 322, 323.
- Buckley, James M., 209.
- Bullock, A. George, Treasurer, re-elected, 134; report of Treasurer, 155-159.
- Burlington, N. J., press, 17, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 38, 39.
- Burlington Advertiser, or Agricultural and Political Intelligencer, 38.

Burnet, *Gov.* William, 71.

Burney, James, 337.

Burr, Abigail, 187.

Burr, George L., *New England's Place in the History of Witchcraft*, 134, 185-217.

Burr, John, 187.

C.

Cabot, John and Sebastian, 291.

Cabrillo, João, 307.

Calancha, Antonio de la, 229, 250, 251, 260, 261.

Calvin, Jean, *Calvinism in England*, 196-214.

"Cape Swatoi Nos" (Holy Head), 316, 336, 337.

Carnegie Institution, 154; work of the Bureau of Historical Research, 274.

Carver, Jonathan, "Travels," 53.

Cason, Joan, 206*n*.

Castricom, vessel, 309.

"Cataio" (northern China), 306.

Centennial Fund, 2, 157; gifts to, 155.

Centinel of Freedom, 40, 44.

Central America, study of the writing of, by A. M. Tozzer, 80-98.

Céspedes, Andres Garcias de, 307.

Chalmers, George, *Introduction to revolt of Amer. Colonies*, 70*n*.

Chamberlain, Mellen, 75.

Chandler, George, Fund, 157.

Charles II., 68.

Charles V., of Spain, 280, 281.

Chase, Anthony, 146.

Chase, Chas. A., tribute to, by A. McF. Davis, 140; obituary, by S. S. Green, 146-150; education, 146, 147; newspaper career, 147, 149, 151; treasurer, Worcester Co. Institution for Savings, and president, 148; death of, announced, 150; minute prepared for Council, by S. S. Green, 150-152; contributions to *Proceedings*, 151, 152.

Chase, Lydia (Earle), 146.

Chase, Mary Teresa (Clark), 149.

Chase, Maud Elisa, 149.

Chase, Sarah E., 149.

Chatham, N. J., press, 31, 33, 44.

Chichen-Itza, photographic reproduction of, gift of E. H. Thompson, 136, 137.

Chile, 167.

"Chinan Golfo" (northern Pacific), 302.

Christian's, Scholar's and Farmer's Magazine, 33.

Church, Arthur H., gift to Centennial Fund, 155.

Cieza de Leon, Pedro de, *Crónica del Peru*, 230; 244-257.

Civil War, bibliography of, needed, 274-275.

Clark College, 153.

Clark University, 154.

Clodd, Edward, *Story of the Alphabet*, 80*n*, 99.

Cobo, Bernabé, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo," 221, 243-249, 261.

Codex, Mendoza, 84-86, with 4 Plates.

Colden, Cadwallader, 22, 23.

Collection and Research Fund, 157.

Collins, Isaac, printer, 27, 28, 38, 43, 50, 51; notice of, 29, 30.

Columbus, Christopher, 284, 285, 289, 290, 291, 295, 296.

Congregational Library, 142.

Congregationalist, editor, M. Dexter, 10.

Connecticut Gazette, 20.

Connecticut Sewage Commission, 12.

Constitutional Courant, 22, 23.

Constitutional Gazette, 22.

Conway, Henry S., 22.

Cook, *Capt.* James, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337.

Cooke, Elisha, 69.

Coolidge, Archibald Cary, elected a member, 4.

Cooper, Anthony A., 1st Earl of Shaftesbury, 213.

Cooper, Elisha, printer, 42.

Copacavana, 220, 236.

Copper at Tiahuanaco, 219, 227, 228.

Coppo, Pietro, 294.

Cornbury, Edward Hyde, *Lord*, 15, 16.

Cortereal, Gasparo, 291, 294, 295, 300.

Cortes, Hernando, 295, 296, 298, 300.

Cossacks, 312, 313, 316, 319, 336.

Cotton, John, follower of William Perkins, 203.

Council, Report, by S. S. Green, 6-9; by A. McF. Davis, 138-145; members of, 133, 134; special meeting, 150.

- Craft, Gershom, printer, 37, 38.
 Crania of Tiahuanaco, 233, 234.
 Cree, David, printer, 46.
 Cruikshank, Joseph, printer, 28, 30.
 Cunningham, Henry W., appointed a teller, 132.
 Currency. *See* Paper money.
 Cushing, Harry A., "History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government," 62*n*, 63*n*, 73*n*.
 Cushing family, 60*n*.
 Cuzco, 232.
- D.
- Daneau, Lambert, 200, 201.
 Darrel, John, view as to exorcism, 204.
 Davis, Andrew McF., qualifications of candidates for membership, 4; The Shays Rebellion, a Political Aftermath, 5, 57-79; Vice-President, re-elected, 133; Council report, 138-145; antiquarian aspect of old building, and beauty of new commodious fire-proof structure, 138, 139; tribute to C. A. Chase, 140; joint publication of Mather Diaries, 140-143; distribution of Transactions, 144, 145; committee to publish Mather Diaries, 141; John and Eliza Davis Fund, 157.
 Davis, Edward L., member of the Council, 133; Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund, 157.
 Davis, Mrs. Eliza, John and Eliza Davis Fund, 157.
 Davis, Horace, John and Eliza Davis Fund, 157.
 Davis, Isaac, Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund, 157.
 Davis, John, John and Eliza Davis Fund, 157.
 Davis, John C. B., John and Eliza Davis Fund, 157.
 Day, Matthais, printer, 37.
 De l'Isle, (astronomer), 322, 323.
 Dereims, A., 243, 250.
 Deschnef, Simeon, 312, 336.
 Dewey, Francis H., Fund, 157.
 Dewey, Francis H., gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
 Dexter, Emily Loud (Sanford), 10.
 Dexter, Franklin B., Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, re-elected, 133.
 Dexter, Morton, death announced, 6; obituary of, 10; editor, Congregationalist, 10.
 Dixon, George, 335.
 Dodge, Daniel, printer, 40.
 Dodge, Eliza D., Fund, 157.
 Doe, Charles H., 149.
 Douglass, —, printer, 43.
 Dow, George F., report of nominating committee, 133.
 Drake, Sir Francis, 307, 312.
 Dudley, Paul, 78.
 Dudley, Gov. Joseph, 75, 77, 79.
 Dun, Alexander L., 226, 229.
 Du Simitiere, Pierre E., 23.
- E.
- Earle, John M., 146, 149.
 Earle, Patience, 146.
 Earle, Pliny, 146.
 Eaton, William, Hull-Eaton Correspondence during the Expedition against Tripoli, 1804-1805, edited by C. H. Lincoln, 105-129; Consul to Tunis, 105; secures peace between U. S. and Tripoli, 106; calendar of letters, 107-116; letters of, to I. Hull, 119, 122-127; fac-simile of letter of wishing assistance in History of Tripolitan War, to C. Prentice, opposite 119.
 Edes, Henry H., offers vote to publish Mather Diaries, 140.
 Elderkin, —, printer, 39.
 Elizabeth, of England, and witchcraft, 195, 196*n*, 200, 202, 203, 206, 207.
 Elizabeth, N. J., press, 32, 34, 39, 44.
 Elizabeth Daily Journal, 32.
 Ellis, George E., Fund, 157.
 Engel, Samuel, 329.
 England, witchcraft in, 191-215.
 Engler, Edmund A., 150.
 Essex Institute, 172.
- F.
- Fairfax, Edward, 207*n*, 214*n*.
 Farmers' Journal, and Newton Advertiser, 48.
 Farquhar, James, 114, 124, 125.
 Farquhar, Lt. Richard, 109.
 Federal Post, 36.
 Federal Post, or, the Trenton Weekly Mercury, 36.
 Federal Republican, 39.
 Federalist, 35.

- Federalist: New Jersey Gazette, 37.
 Federalist, and New Jersey State Gazette, 37.
 Fish, Carl Russell, elected a member, 4.
 Flint implements, 230.
 Ford, Worthington C., committee to report eligible members, 6; Journal of the House of Representatives, 1715, 77; representative of Massachusetts Historical Society Committee to publish Mather Diaries, 141.
 Förstemann, Ernst, 97, 99.
 Foster, Alfred D., Foster papers deposited by, 169.
 Foster, Dwight, letters and journals of, acquired, 169, 170.
 Foster, Peregrine, letters of, 170.
 Foster, Roger, gift of Foster papers, 170.
 Foster, Theodore, letters of, 170.
 Foster, William E., gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
 Foster papers, acquisition of, 169, 170.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 17, 20, 26*n*, 42, 55, 56, 274; partnership with James Parker, 18, 19 and his letters to, 24-26.
 Franklin, Sir John, 337, 338.
 Franklin, Gov. William, 25, 26*n*.
 Freneau, Philip, printer, 41, 44, 47, 54.
 Frobisher, Martin, 304.
 Fuca, Juan de, 322, 332.
 Fuentes, Bartolomé de, 322, 325, 326, 330.
 Funds of the Society, condition, 157; special gifts, 155, 157; consolidation, 157*n*.
 Furlani, Paulo de, 300, 302.
 "Fusany" (north-west America) 325, 326.
- G.
- Gage, Homer, teller, 4.
 Gage, Mary Alice (Chase), 149.
 Gage, Thomas H., Jr., 149.
 Gaine, Hugh, printer, 20; mystery of Revolutionary numbers of New York Gazette, 45, 46; confiscation of his property, 46.
 Gama, José da, 320, 322.
 Garver, Austin S., appointed a teller 132; gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
 Genius of Liberty, 43.
 Genius of Liberty, and New Brunswick Advertiser, 35.
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 304.
 Gilman, Mrs. Bradley, gift of Foster papers, 170.
 Goddard, William, printer, 30.
 Goldsborough, Charles, 109, 121.
 Gomez, Pedro, 281, 283.
 Gould, Stephen, printer, 40.
 Government, dissatisfaction with. See Shays's Rebellion.
 Gray, Capt. Robert, 335.
 Green, Elizabeth (Swett), 8.
 Green, Samuel A., 4; Graton Historical Series, 65*n*; report of nominating committee, 133; Vice-President, re-elected, 133; gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
 Green, Samuel Swett, Council report, 2, 6-9; description of new building, 7, and of former buildings, 8, 9; member of the Council, 133; obituary of C. A. Chase, 146-150, and minute at Council meeting, 150-152.
 Green, Thomas, printer, 20.
 "Gruenlant" (Greenland), 293.
 Grynaeus, Simon, 298.
 Guardian, or, New Brunswick Advertiser, 34.
 Guignes, C. L. Joseph de, 325, 326.
 Gvozdef, Mikhail, 327.
- H.
- Hales, John, 214.
 Hall, G. Stanley, member of the Council, 133; obituary of C. D. Wright, 152-154.
 Hamilton, Alexander, 31; description of hurricane, 30; Federalist, 35.
 Hansen, Joseph, "Zauberwahn und Hexenprozess," 191*n*, 192*n*.
 Harnsnett, Samuel, Abp. of York, contempt of superstitions, 205.
 Hart, Albert B., Centennial Anniversary Committee, 5.
 Hartley, Edward, 206*n*.
 Harvard, John, 203.
 Harvard College, 12, 13; classmates of C. A. Chase, 1855, 147; Spanish American collection from, 167-169.
 Harvard College Library, 23, 48.
 Harvey, Gabriel, 214.
 Haven, Frances W., Fund, 157.

Haven, Samuel F., 8; Samuel F. Haven Fund, 157.

Haynes, George H., Publishing Committee, 134.

Hearne, Samuel, 330, 333, 335, 336, 337.

Hermano de Toledo, Diego, 303.

Herrera, Antonio de, 307.

Hildreth, Richard, unrivalled value of work, 267.

Hill, Benjamin T., Auditor, re-elected, 134; report as Auditor, 159.

Hobbes, Thomas, and witchcraft, 210.

Holland, Josiah G., "The Bay Path," 187.

Holt, John, printer, 20.

Homann, Johann Baptist, 317.

Homem, Diego, 307.

Hooker, Thomas, 203.

Hopkins, Eliot, printer, 48.

Hopkins, George F., printer, 34, 35.

Hopkins, Matthew, 207.

House of Commons, 23.

Houston, William C., 28.

Huan-kolla, 229.

Huata, 220, 225, 230.

Hudson, Henry, 307.

Hull, Isaac, Hull-Eaton Correspondence during the Expedition against Tripoli 1804-1805, edited by C. H. Lincoln, 105-129; calendar of letters, 107-116; letters of, to W. Eaton, 120, 124, 127-129.

Humble Bee, 149.

Humboldt, Alexander von, Fragment, 84, with Plate opposite.

Hunnewell, James F., death announced, 6; obituary of, 11, 12; James F. Hunnewell Fund, 157.

Hunnewell, Sarah M. (Farnsworth), 12.

Hurtin, William, printer, 48.

Hutchinson, Foster, 60.

Hutchinson, Thomas, 60; "History of Massachusetts," 67*n*, 70*n*, 71*n*, 72*n*.

I.

Ides, Everad Ysbrandt, 315.

Incas, 219, 224; traditions, 250-261.

Indians, bibliography of, suggested, 272, 273.

Irving, —, 335.

"Isabella" (Cuba), 291.

J.

James I., witchcraft during his reign, 206, 207*n*.

Jefferys, Thomas, 323, 327.

Jersey Chronicle, 41, 42, 44, 54.

Jewel, John, Bp. of Salisbury, on witchcraft, 195, 196.

John Carter Brown Library, 270, Judaeis, Cornelius de, 303.

K.

Kadiak (island), 331, 338.

Kaempfer, Engelbert, 318, 325.

Kammerer, H., Jr., printer, 38.

Kamtschadali, 319.

"Kantzanki River," 315.

Katharina, Empress of Russia, 319.

Keimer, Samuel, printer, 17.

Kempfer, *see* Kaempfer.

Keros, sacrificial cup, 219, 243.

King, Robert, *Earl of Kingston*, 82, 84.

Kingsborough, *Lord*. *See* King, Robert, *Earl of Kingston*.

Kinnicutt, Leonard P., death announced, 7; obituary of, 12, 13.

Kittredge, George L., on witchcraft, 186-188, 191, 196*n*, 197*n*, 217.

Klopstock, Frederick G., *Messiah*, 32.

Knox, Henry, 31.

Knox, Vicesimus, "Spirit of Despotism," 43.

Kohl, Johann Georg, "Asia and America, Historical Disquisition," 284-338; sketch of, 284*n*, account of monograph of, 285*n*.

Kollock, Shepard, printer, 43, 44; career, 30-34, 52.

Kotzebue, Otto von, 337.

Krenitzen, Peter Kumich, 326, 327, 328.

"Kuriliski" (Kurile islands), 316, 318, 320.

Kuskoquim (river), 338.

Kwikhpak (river), 338.

L.

Labna, portal of, presented to National Museum, 176.

Lamb, John, 30.

Lange, Lorenz, 315.

Landa, Diego de, 96, 99, 280.

Lane, William C., report of nominating committee, 133.

La Paz, Museum of, 231.

- La Pérouse, Jean François, 335.
 Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 96*n*, 99.
 Las Casas, Guillen de, 281.
 Latané, John H., elected a member, 4.
 Lawrence, Daniel, printer, 38.
 Lawrence, William, gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
 Lea, Henry C., material collected upon witchcraft, 136, 191; "Inquisition of Spain," 191*n*.
 Lear, Tobias, negotiates peace, between U. S. and Tripoli, 106.
 León, Nicolas, 88, 89*n*, 100.
 Levascheff, *Lieut.* M., 326, 327, 328.
 Lewis, Joseph, diary, 46.
 Librarian's and General Fund, 157.
 Library Building Fund, 157.
 Library of Congress, cards deposited in American Antiquarian Society, 170, 171.
 Library of the Society, moved to new building, 6; protection from fire, 6, 7; Report of the Librarian, 161-176; process of moving to new building, 161, and time occupied, 161; special collections, 162, 164, 170; notable accessions, 165-169; list of donations, 177-184.
 Life Membership Fund, 157.
 Lincoln, Bishop of, 193, 194.
 Lincoln, Charles H., work on manuscripts discontinued, 6; Hull-Eaton correspondence, 1804-1805, edited by, 105-129.
 Lincoln, Levi, Lincoln Legacy Fund, 157.
 Lincoln, Waldo, presides, 1, 131, 150; completion of new building, 2; Centennial Fund, 2; selections from early addresses to the Society, 2-4; Centennial Anniversary, chairman of committee, 4, and appoints committee, 4, 5; represents the Society in the American Year Book Corporation, 6; President, re-elected, 132; on financial need of Society, 132, 133; members of the Society his guests, 137; death announced of C. A. Chase, 150.
 Livingston, Gov. William, proposal to have weekly New Jersey newspaper, 28.
 Local history, bibliography of, suggested, 272.
 Lok, Michael, 307.
 Lopez, Thomas, 280, 281.
 Loudon, Samuel, 33.
 Lowell, Cornelia Prime (Baylies), 13.
 Lowell, Francis C., death announced, 7; obituary of, 13.
 Lugtenburg, —, 311.
 Lumboltz, Carl, 83, 99.
 M.
 MacDonald, William, Centennial Anniversary committee, 5; Some Bibliographical Desiderata in American History, 136, 266-276.
 Mackenzie, Alexander, 335, 336, 337.
 M'Kenzie, Alexander, printer, 47, 48.
 McMaster, John B., 268.
 Magalhaes, Fernão de, 295.
 Magellan, *see* Magalhaes.
 Magazines, American bibliography of, urged, 270.
 Magic, distinguished from witchcraft, 188-191, 202, 203.
 Maine, claim to pine trees, 72.
 Malaspina, Alexandro, 335.
 Mallery, Garrick, 84*n*, 100.
 Mann, Jacob, printer, 42, 43.
 Manuscripts, work on, discontinued, 6, 170; Hull-Eaton Letters, 107-129; additions, 169, 170.
 Maps, value to Society of deposit by N. E. H. G. S., 139; "Asia and America," by J. G. Kohl, with 32 Maps, 284-338.
 Marble, Emily G. (Chase), 149.
 "Mare di Mangi" (northern Pacific), 302.
 "Mare Japonicum" (Sea of Japan), 316.
 Marsh, Henry A., Auditor, re-elected, 134; report as Auditor, 159.
 Martinez, Joan, 304.
 Massachusetts Historical Society, 10, 11, 13, 23, 268; meeting of American Antiquarian Society at building of, 1; Proceedings, 26*n*; publication with A. A. S. of Mather Diaries, 140-143, 172.
 Massachusetts, House of Representatives, beginning of the Journal, 73-79.
 Massachusetts Spy, 60, 65.
 Mather, Cotton, "Magnalia," 68*n*; publication of Diaries of, 140-143, 172, 268; portrait of, 172, 173; and witchcraft, 204, 208.

- Mather, Increase, publication of Diaries of, 140-143; portrait of, 172, 173; and witchcraft, 201, 204, 208.
- Mather, Nathaniel, portrait of, 172.
- Mather, Richard, portrait of, 172.
- Mather, Samuel, of Dublin, 172.
- Mather, Samuel, of Boston, 172, 173.
- Matthews, Albert, gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
- Maudslay, Alfred P., 86*n*, 100.
- Mayas, writing, 81, 96, 97; burning of records, 280.
- Meares, John, 335.
- Mecom, Benjamin, printer, 20, 25, 26.
- Mede, Joseph, 208.
- Members, present at meeting, 1, 131; solicited for contributions, 2-4; election of, 4.
- Mershon, John, printer, 37.
- Mexico, Value of Ancient Mexican Mss. in the Study of the General Development of Writing, by A. M. Tozzer, 80-98; and Bibliography, 99-101; destruction of ancient Mss., 81; Spanish priests teaching of Roman religion, 88, 95; photographic reproductions of Chichen-Itza, 136, 137; Kindler Light on Early Spanish Rule in America, by E. H. Thompson, 277-283.
- Miller,—, printer, 39.
- Minerva and Mercantile Evening Advertiser, 35.
- Missett, *Mag.*—, 119, 120.
- Mixtec-Zapotec, codices of, 81.
- Molina, Cristobal de, 256-258.
- Molineaux, H., 307.
- Monmouth Gazette, 47.
- Monoliths, carved, 222, 230.
- Montaigne, Michel E. de, and witchcraft, 213.
- Montejo, Francisco de, 278.
- Montt, Luis, portion of library acquired, 167-169.
- Morris Academy, 42.
- Morris County Gazette, 42, 43, 44.
- Morristown, [N. J., press, 42, 43, 46. Library, 44.
- Morse, Jedidiah, "American Geography," 32.
- Mount Holly, N. J., press, 39.
- Mount Pleasant, N. J., press, 47.
- Müller, Gerhard Friedrich, 324.
- "Mundo Nuovo" (South America), 295.
- Münster, Sebastian, 304.
- N.
- Nahuas, writing, 81, 94, 98.
- Neale, Isaac, printer, 38.
- Nelson, William, "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the Eighteenth Century," 5, 15-56.
- Nevill, Samuel, 20, 21.
- New American Magazine, 21.
- New Brunswick, N. J., press, 32, 33, 34, 35, 44.
- New England, "New England's Place in the History of Witchcraft," by G. L. Burr, 185-217.
- New England Courant, 74.
- New England Historic Genealogical Society, maps deposited with A. A. S., 139.
- New Haven, press, 27.
- New Jersey, "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the Eighteenth Century," paper on, by W. Nelson, 5, 15-56; first imprints, 16, 17; first permanent printing office, 17; first magazine, 21, and newspaper 21, 22, 44, 45; Smith's History of, 24-27; first permanent newspaper, 28, 29.
- New Jersey Federalist, 34.
- New Jersey Gazette, 28, 29, 36, 43, 50, 51, 52.
- New Jersey Historical Society, 44.
- New Jersey Journal, 31, 39, 44, 52, 53, 54.
- New Jersey Journal and Political Intelligencer, 32.
- New Jersey Magazine, and Monthly Advertiser, 35.
- New Jersey State Gazette, 37.
- New Jersey State Library, 17, 36.
- New York, N. Y., press of, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27, 30, 33, 35, 45, 55.
- New York Gazette, 18, revived in Weekly Post-Boy, 19.
- New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercurey, 45.
- New York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy, 19, 22, 49.
- New York Gazetteer, 33, 46.
- New York Gazetteer and Country Journal, 33.
- New York Gazetteer and Daily Evening Post, 33.
- New York Historical Society, 43, 44.

- New York Public Library, 23, 44, 46.
 Newark, N. J., press, 37, 39, 41, 45.
 Newark Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser, 39, 40, 44.
 Newspapers, "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing of the 18th Century," by W. Nelson, 15-56; dissemination of news, 74; additions to Society's collection, 166; American bibliography of, suggested, 268, 269.
 Newton, Thomas, *Bp.*, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 32.
 Newton, N. J., press, 48.
 Nichols, Charles L., member of the Council, 133; Publishing Committee, 134.
 Nippon (Japan), 318.
 Noble, John, "Few Notes on the Shays Rebellion," 57.
 Notestein, Wallace, "History of Witchcraft in England, 1558 to 1718," 191*n*, 205*n*, 207*n*, 211, 215.
- O.
- O'Bannon, Presley N., 107, 109, 115, 123, 128.
 Obsidian, 228, 229, 230, 251.
 Oliva, Jean, 307.
 Oliver, Andrew, 60.
 Oliver, Peter, 60.
 Orozco y Berra, Manuel, 87*n*, 100.
 Ortelius, Abraham, 301, 304.
 Ottens, R. and J., 320.
- P.
- Pacajes, 229, 234, 251.
 Paine, Nathaniel, 150; member of the Council, 133; committee to publish Mather Diaries, 141.
 Paine, William, Address, 1815, 4.
 Palfrey, John G., "History of New England," 68*n*, 71*n*, 78*n*.
 Pañafiel, Antonio, 90*n*, 100.
 Paper, scarcity of, 31, 50.
 Paper money, and Shays's Rebellion, 61, 65, 66, 70.
 Parker, Elisha, 17.
 Parker, James, printer, 55, 56; career, 17-27; letters to B. Franklin on removal of his press, 24-26.
 Parker, Samuel, 17.
 Parker, Samuel F., printer, 23, 25, 27.
 Parkhurst, Jabez, printer, 40.
 Parry, *Sir* William Edward, 337.
 Paterson, William, Laws of New Jersey revised, 1800, 36.
 Paterson, N. J., 39.
 Peabody Museum, picture Ms. of, 88, 89*n*, with Plate opposite 89; relics sent to, 175.
 Pennington, Aaron, printer, 40.
 Pennington, Samuel, printer, 40.
 Pennsylvania Historical Society, 23.
 Perkins, William, and witchcraft, 203, 204; place among Puritan divines, 203, 204.
 Perth Amboy, 16, 17, 21.
 Peru, Indians, clans, 235; traditions, 252-261.
 Peter the Great, 313, 314, 315.
 Philadelphia, Penn., press, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 30, 39, 55; printers resist lowering of wages, 46.
 Philadelphia Library Company, 23.
 Philip II., of Spain, 256, 281.
 Phoenix, 48, 49.
 Picture writings, Fragment of Humboldt Collection, 84 with Plate opposite; Mendoza codex, 84-86, with 4 Plates; Plate from Valades opposite 88; Peabody Museum, Ms., 88 with Plate opposite 89; phonetic pictures, 90-96 with figures.
 Pike, John, printer, 40.
 Pilapi, monoliths, 220.
 Pimas, 224.
 Pizarro, Francisco, 295.
 Pizarro, Pedro, 264.
 Pliny, 306.
 Political Intelligencer and New Jersey Advertiser, 32, 44.
 Polo, Marco, 289, 291, 292, 295.
 Ponce de Leon, Juan, 291.
 Poole, Matthew, 208.
 Poole, William F., 185.
 Portlock, *Capt.* Nathaniel, 335.
 Post-office, friction with newspapers, 53, 54.
 Post-rider, delays, 50.
 Prange, James, printer, 35.
 Prentice, Charles, fac-simile letter to, wishing assistance in History of Tripolitan War, from William Eaton, opposite 119.
 Press, "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the 18th Century," by W. Nelson, 15-56; censorship of the press, 15, 72; dissemination of news, 73, 74; liberty of, 76*n*.

- Prince Society, Publications, 76*n*, 78*n*.
 Princeton, N. J., press, 47.
 Princeton Packet and the General Advertiser, 47.
 Princeton University, Library, 44.
 Printers, "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the 18th Century," by W. Nelson, 15-56; resist reduction of wages, 46; troubles, 49-54; customs, 54, 55.
 Printing. *See* Press.
 Ptolemaeus, Claudius, 289, 291, 292, 295, 298, 299, 306.
 Public Record Office, Eng., 23.
 Publishing Committee, 5, 134, 137.
 Publishing Fund, 157.
 Pucarani, 229, 230, 250, 251.
 "Puchochotschi" (island), 316.
 Puma-Puncu, 223, 248; etymology of, 221.
 Purchas, Samuel, 308.
 Purchasing Fund, 157.
 Putnam, Frederic W., 87*n*, 100; selection from cabinet for Peabody Museum, 175.
- Q.
- Quequelle, Frederick C., printer, 35, 36.
 Quichuas, 236, 258, 261.
 Quimsa-Chata, 219, 220, 226, 250; etymology of, 243.
 "Quivira" (north-western America), 296, 303.
- R.
- Rae, John, 337.
 Ramsay, David, "History of South Carolina," 29.
 Randolph, Edward, 68.
 Rhode Island Historical Society, 270.
 Rice, Franklin P., Publishing Committee, 134.
 Richardson, Sir James, 337.
 Rind, William, printer, 29.
 Riots, 67.
 Robinson, John, 10.
 Rotch, Abbott L., 132.
 "Royal Proclamations relating to America," 6.
 Rugg, Arthur P., 150; Centennial Anniversary committee, 5; member of the Council, 133.
 Rural Magazine, 41.
 Ruscelli, Girolamo, 299.
 Russell, Caleb, founder Morris Academy, 42, and Morris County Gazette, 42.
 Russell, Henry P., printer, 43.
 Russian Academy of Sciences, 324, 325, 326, 327.
 Rutgers College, 32.
 Ruysch, Johann, 292, 293.
- S.
- Salaries, and the Shays Rebellion, 71, 72, 73.
 Salem, Mass., and witchcraft, 185, 186, 190.
 Salisbury, Stephen, [1] 8; contributions to Society, 9.
 Salisbury, Stephen, [3] Salisbury Bldg. Fund, 157*n*, Salisbury Legacy Fund, 157; Salisbury Mansion Fund, 157*n*.
 Sanson, Guillaume, 311.
 Saville, Marshall H., 81*n*, 100.
 Schellhas, Paul, 97, 100.
 Schöner, Johannes, 293, 295.
 Scot, Reginald, "Discoverie of Witchcraft," 201.
 "Sea of the West," 322.
 Selden, John, and witchcraft, 210.
 Seler, Edward, 89*n*, 100, 101.
 Sewel, William, "History of the Quakers," 28.
 Shaftesbury, *Earl of*. *See* Cooper, A. A.
 Shays's Rebellion, "The Shays Rebellion, a Political Aftermath," by A. McF. Davis, 5, 57-79; "Ten Notes on," by J. Noble, 57; "Some features of" by J. Smith, 57; "History of the Insurrection," by G. R. Minot, 59*n*.
 Shelikof, Gregor Ivanovich, 338.
 Shepard, Thomas, 203.
 Sherman, George, printer, 37, 38.
 Shute, Gov. Samuel, 72, 78.
 Sieorac, John H., 107.
 Sillustani, 229, 231, 232.
 Smith, Charles C., gift to Centennial Fund, 155.
 Smith, Jonathan, "Some features of Shays's Rebellion," 57.
 Smith, P., printer, 48.
 Smith, Samuel, "History of New Jersey," printing of, 24, 25, 26.
 Smithsonian Institution, transfer of relics to, 175.
 "Spagnuola" (Haiti), 291, 292.

- Spanish-America, notable accession to collection, 167-169.
- "Spanish Rule in America, *Kindlier Light on*," by E. H. Thompson, 136, 277-283.
- Springfield, N. J., 46.
- Squier, E. George, 218, 228, 237, 262, 263.
- "Stachtan Nitada" (north-western America), 327.
- Staehlin von Storcksburg, Jakob, 327.
- Stamp Act, effect on printing, 25, 26.
- State Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser, 37.
- Sundt,—220, 226.
- Sylvanus Americanus, pseudonym. See Nevill, Samuel.
- Synd, Johannes, 326, 327.
- T.
- Tebenkof, Mikhail Dmitrievich, 338.
- Tenny, Joseph A., Fund, 157.
- "Terra de Cuba" (North America), 291.
- "Terra Nova" (Newfoundland), 293.
- "Terra Sanctae Crucis" (South America), 291, 292.
- Thevenot, Nicolas Melchisédec, 320.
- Thomas, Benjamin F., Local History Fund, 157.
- Thomas, Isaiah, 56; "Account of the American Antiquarian Society, 1813," 2, 3; "Communication to the Members, 1814," 3; gave private library to Antiquarian Society, 8, and erects building, 8, 9; "History of Printing," 21, 22, 24, 27, 74*n*.
- Thomas, Isaiah, 37, 38, 55.
- Thompson, Edward H., 176; "Kindlier Light on Early Spanish Rule in America," 136, 277-283; gift of photographic reproductions of Chichen-Itza, 136, 137.
- Thorn, Capt.—122.
- Tiahuanaco, "Ruins at Tiahuanaco," by A. F. Bandelier, 218-265; excavations prohibited, 218, 220; Museum, 218, 219, 229; distinctive pottery, 218, 219, 231; metallic fastenings, 219, 228, 250; etymology of, 220, 222, 232; monoliths, 220, 222, 231, 232; absence of houses, 220, 224, 225; mounds, 221, 222, 223; sculptured gateway, 222, 231, 244-247; building material, 226, 250; traditions, 232, 233, 252-261; crania, 233, 234; clans, 235, 236, 237.
- Titicaca Lake, 230, 259.
- Tod, James, printer, 47.
- Toledo, Francisco de, 223, 262, 263, 264.
- Toppan, Robert N., "Edward Randolph," 68*n*.
- Torquemada, Juan de, 88*n*, 95*n*, 101.
- Toscanelli, Paolo, 289.
- Tozzer, Alfred M., "The Value of Ancient Mexican Manuscripts in the Study of the General Development of Writing," 5, 80-98; and Bibliography, 99-101.
- Transactions, distribution, 144, 145, 172.
- Trenton, N. J., press, 29, 30, 43, 55.
- Trenton Daily Gazette, 38.
- Trenton Mercury, and the Weekly Advertiser, 36.
- Trenton True American, 43.
- Tripoli, expedition against, as given in Hull-Eaton correspondence, 1804-1805, 107-129.
- Tschirikow, Capt. A., 320, 322, 324, 330.
- Tschuktschi, 312, 319, 327.
- Turner, Frederick J., 275.
- Tuttle, Julius H., Publishing Committee, 134.
- Tuttle, William, printer, 40.
- Tyler, Moses Coit, "Literary History of the American Revolution," unrivalled value of, 267, 276.
- U.
- Uakullani, monoliths, 220.
- Uhle, Max, 218, 219, 220, 229.
- United States Magazine, or, General Repository of Useful Instruction and Rational Amusement, 41.
- Uros Indians, 236.
- Ustick, Stephen C., printer, 39.
- Utley, Samuel, 7, 150; obituaries, 10-14; member of the Council, 133.
- V.
- Valades, Diego, account of activities of priesthood, 88, with Plate opposite.

- Valentini, Philipp J. J., 88*n*, 96, 101.
 Vancouver, George, 335.
 Vaugondy, Robert de, 329.
 Vinton, Alexander H., death announced, 7; obituary of, 13, 14.
 Vizcayno, Sebastian, 307.
- W.
- Wadlin, Horace G., 153.
 Wallis, John, printer, 40.
 Warren, Joseph, 73.
 Washburn, Charles Francis, Fund, 157.
 Washburn, Charles G., Centennial Anniversary Committee, 4; member of the Council, 133; Charles Francis Washburn Fund, 157.
 Washington, George, 30, 274; Life of, 32.
 Webster, Noah, 35.
 Weeden, William B., member of the Council, 133.
 Weekly Rehearsal, 74.
 Weems, Mason L., "Life of George Washington," 32.
 Wendell, Barrett, committee to publish Mather Diaries, 141.
 West, William, "Simboleography," 202, 203.
 Westcott, James D., printer, 47.
 Westcott, John, printer, 48.
 Westminster Assembly, and witchcraft, 207*n*, 208*n*.
 Williams, John H., printer, 39, 41.
 Williamsburg, Va., 29.
 Wilmington, Del., 29, 33.
 Wilson, George M., printer, 36.
 Wilson, James J., printer, 43.
 Winship, George P., committee to report eligible members, 6; Recording Secretary, re-elected, 134; on A. F. Bandelier's work, 134; committee to publish Mather Diaries, 141.
 Winsor, Justin, Narrative and Critical History," 79*n*, and unrivalled value of, 267, 268; on witchcraft, 185; Literature of Witchcraft in New England, 186.
 Witch, definition of, by W. West, 203.
 Witchcraft, New England's Place in the History of, by G. L. Burr, 134, 185-217; remarks on, by J. Bryce; material collected by H. C. Lea, 136; in England, and on the Continent, 191-215.
 Witsen, Nicolas, 314, 315.
 Woodbridge, N. J., press, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.
 Wooden cups at Tiahuanaco, 219, 243.
 Woods, John, printer, 39, 40, 41.
 Woods's Newark Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser, 39, 42.
 Woods's Newark Gazette, and Paterson Advertiser, 39, 40.
 Worcester and Providence Boating Co., 146.
 Worcester Art Museum, statue of Christ sent to, 176.
 Worcester County Law Library Association, statue of Moses sent to, 176.
 Worcester Gazette, 149.
 Worcester Magazine, description of new building, 7, 172.
 Worcester Mutual Fire Insurance Co., 146.
 Worcester Society of Antiquity, transfer of local relics to, 175.
 Worcester Spy, 149.
 Wrangell, Ferdinand Petrovich, 338.
 Wright, Caroline E. (Harnden), 152.
 Wright, Carroll D., obituary of, by G. S. Hall, 152-154; service to bureaus of statistics and labor, 152, 153, 154; organizes Clark College, 153; and professor in Clark University, 154.
 Writing, study of development, in ancient Mexican Mss., by A. M. Tozzer, 80-98.
- Y.
- Yale University, 23.
 Ys Caap (north-western cape of Asia), 314.
 Yucatan, examples from bas-relief, 86, 87; relics from, transferred to Peabody and National Museums, 175, 176; Spanish conquerors of, 278, 279; humanitarian decrees of King, 281; natural resources of, 282, 283.
- Z.
- Zagoskin, *Lieut.*, 338.
 Zaltieri, Bolognino, 301, 302.
 Zapotecs, codex of, 81.
 Zipangu (Japan), 289, 290, 291, 294.

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